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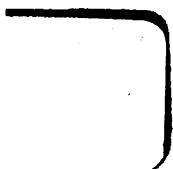
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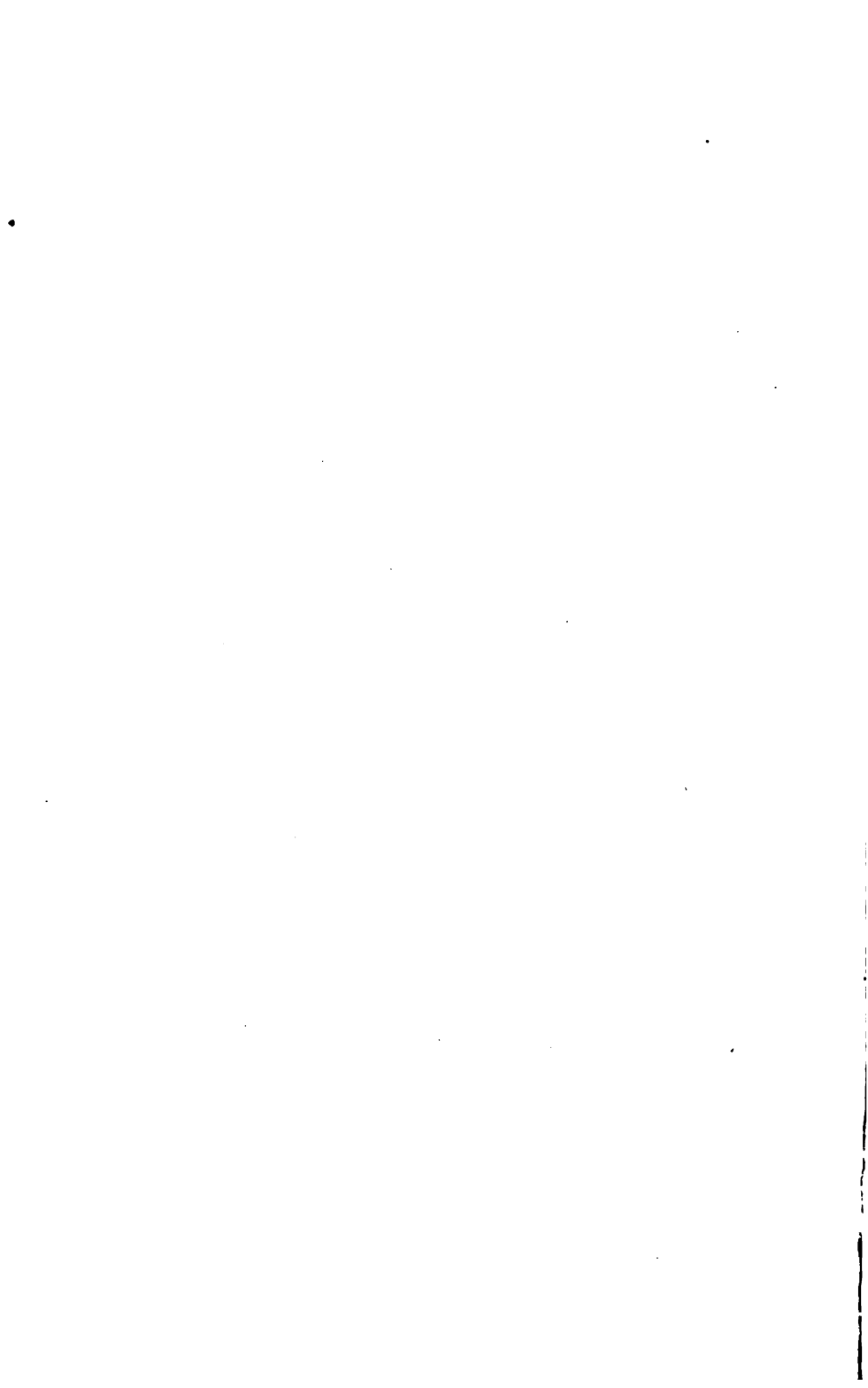


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Sayer.



MISCELLANIES.



14793 / MISCELLANIES,

ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL,

BY

+ F. SAYERS, M. D.

— *nec ego id, quod deest antiquitati, flagito potius,
quam laudo quod est.*

CICERO.

NORWICH:

PRINTED BY STEVENSON AND MATCHETT,
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P R E F A C E.

IN that highly advanced state to which literature is at present arrived, few productions can be expected which may allure by the novelty of their matter, or fascinate by the brilliancy of their execution. Not only the most attractive and prominent, but many even of the humbler themes of imagination and science, have been seized by the vigilance of genius, and moulded into form with a skill, a fancy, and an elegance which can hardly be equalled. But we are not on this account condemned to a mere indolent enjoyment of the delight and instruction which is already prepared for us ; an examination

Stewart
Jan. 10 Oct. 174

PREFACE.

nation of our literary possessions will still afford us ample occasion for the exercise of our talents; in such an examination, we may collect the scattered, we may arrange the irregular, we may enlighten the obscure, we may correct the erroneous: the praise of learning, of perspicuity, of penetration, of accuracy, may still be the object of successful pursuit, and if we cannot be as splendidly, we may at least be as usefully employed as many of our more eminent predecessors.

Such are the opinions which have led to the composition and publication of the following Essays; and if any tendency should be found in these pieces to refute improbable conjecture, to elicit obscured truth, or merely to recall attention to some neglected, but instructive enquiry, the wishes and expectations of their author will not be disappointed.

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2nd/19th

MISCELLANIES.

ON THE TERM "HEBREW."

ABRAMHAM is called in the Old Testament עברי* (*Ἑβραῖος, ὁ Περσῆς†*) because he came from beyond the river (Euphrates); his posterity are thence denominated by the Jewish writers, both before and after the captivity,‡ *Hebrews*, i.e. Transfluvials.§

* Genesis, xiv. 13.

† Septuagint (Bos.) Gen. xiv. 13. (various readings.)

‡ Genesis, xxxix. 16. Exod. i. 16. Deut. xv. 12.
2 Corinth. xi. 22. Acts vi. 1.

§ The opinion entertained by some writers that Abraham and his posterity were named Hebrews, from *Heber*, the son of Salah, is now generally deemed erroneous.

The *ancient* language of the Jewish nation has been named by the moderns (for it is *not* so called either in the Old or New Testament) the *Hebrew* tongue.

It is not easy to decide what this language was; it is supposed by some to have been the Canaanitish;* the strongest arguments adduced in favour of this opinion are, that the Jews appear to have required no interpreters of the Canaanitish language, as they did of many other tongues; that several words, or the roots of several words at least, in the Phœnician and Punic languages, which are dialects of the Canaanitish, are to be found in the Hebrew;† and that Isaiah expressly calls the language of the Jews the lip of Canaan (כנען).‡

* Bochart. (Canaan, Lib. xi. 1.) Le Clerc (Proleg. in Pentateuch. Dissert. i. 5.) Walton (Prolegom. iii. 13.)

† As the Carthaginian words *Suffetes*, *Dido*, *Elisa*.

‡ Isaiah xix. 18.

By

By others § again, it is strenuously contended that the ancient language of the Jews was the original inspired language of man ; that this language was received by Abraham from his forefathers, and transmitted by him to his descendants ; the most convincing arguments in favour of this opinion are, that the Jews can hardly be supposed to have adopted the language of a hateful and impious nation ; that the Law of Moses, which was at all times intelligible to the Jews previous to the captivity, was written by command of the Deity, or in part by the finger of God himself, in the original inspired language ; and that the words (particularly *proper names* for example) which were in use among the Jews when residing in Canaan, were as truly Hebrew in their etymology as words of an earlier date, which occur in the Old Testament. With respect to the term Canaanitish applied by Isaiah to the

• § Lightfoot (Heb. and Talmud. Exercitat. p. 644.) Gregory Sharpe (Hebrew Grammar, p. 22.) Parkhurst (Preface to Hebrew Lexicon, and the word נָכַר) and the whole Hutchinsonian school.

Jewish tongue, it is urged that he meant to speak only of the *then* language of Canaan as *occupied by the Jews*.

Calmet and others again, adopting in part the opinion which I have just been stating, farther assert, that the ancient Jewish language was in fact Chaldee; this hypothesis, however, it is impossible to support without supposing, that either the Chaldee of the Jews or that of the Assyrians, although originally the same, must have undergone, not very slowly, some most extraordinary changes, for both in the earlier and later periods of the Jewish history, we find decisive proofs of a *material* difference between the Jewish and Chaldee tongues*.

This

* "The heap of testimony" which was called by Laban יֵגֶר שְׁהָדוּתָא (Jegar Sahaduta) was named by Jacob גַּלֵּד (Galeed); the former of these appellations is Chaldee, the latter Jewish. Genesis, xxxi. 47. See Le Clerc (Pentateuch), and Pole's Synopsis on this verse.

It is plain, too, from 2 Kings, xviii. 25. that the Chaldee language was unintelligible to the Jewish populace in the time of Hezekiah.

At

This old Jewish tongue then, whatever may have been its origin, was denominated by the moderns Hebrew; now the word Hebrew, as signifying *Transfluvial*, might undoubtedly have been applied with more accuracy to the Chaldee tongue,* which was an *acknowledged Transfluvial* one, than to that of the *Jews*;† but it does not appear that the moderns meant, by denominating the Jewish tongue Hebrew, to define the *nature* or *origin* of that tongue, but merely to express that it was the language used by the *Hebrew* nation.‡

At the return of the Jews from Babylon, when they had acquired the Chaldee dialect, they were unable to comprehend their own Scriptures, except in a translation. Nehemiah viii. 8. and Pole (Synopsis) on this verse. The Chaldee paraphrases prove the same.

* The Chaldee language, however, was never called Hebrew, or Transfluvial, even by the Jews; it is usually named in the Old Testament אֲרָמִית (Aramith) which is rendered somewhat too vaguely (but after the LXX. and Vulgate) in our translation *Syrian*.

† Especially if Canaanitish.

‡ As the words Welch, Irish, &c. are used in speaking of the Celtic tongue.

After

After the captivity, the dialect of the Jews, which had been changed during their residence at Babylon, was *Syro-Chaldaic*, but *this* language is denominated by the writers of the New Testament, by Josephus, &c. *Hebrew*.* Here the word עברית, 'Εβραϊστί, appears to be properly used as expressing the Chaldee or Transfluvial tongue, but the propriety of its application in this respect is merely *accidental*, as the words עברית and 'Εβραϊστί are by no means applied to the then Jewish tongue, to mark its being a *Transfluvial dialect*, or dialect spoken beyond the Euphrates, but are used to signify that the people whose language they designate were a Transfluvial people;† in the same way we might

* This language certainly differs from the Syriac, for in the Syriac version of the N. T. the dialect of Syria is called "*Suraiih*," whereas the 'Εβραϊστί of the N. T. is rendered "*Ghebraith*."

Besides this common dialect the Jewish writers had a peculiar one of their own, which may be called the *Rabbinical* language.—See Butler's *Hor. Bib.*

† This explanation of the word עברית is given by the Jews themselves. Aruch. in עבר Gloss, in Megil. fol. 8. 2. (Lightfoot, vol. 2.)

might call the native language of the Blacks, the Black language.

The word Hebrew, then, whether applied by *the moderns* to the Jewish tongue *before* the captivity, or by *the Jews themselves* to the newly acquired dialect of their nation *after* the captivity, appears to have had in neither case any reference to the origin of these languages, but merely to the name of the people, "Hebrews," whose language it was used to signify.

It is somewhat remarkable, that, after the captivity, the pure and ancient language of the Old Testament (which is called by the moderns Hebrew) was called by the Jews themselves (אשורִי לִשָּׁן) Assyrian, or the holy language;* but this

As the Jews bore a great hatred to their conquerors, they seem to have purposely denominated their language at this time Hebrew, instead of Chaldee (as it might have been more properly called), in order to make it appear to have been their original *national* tongue.

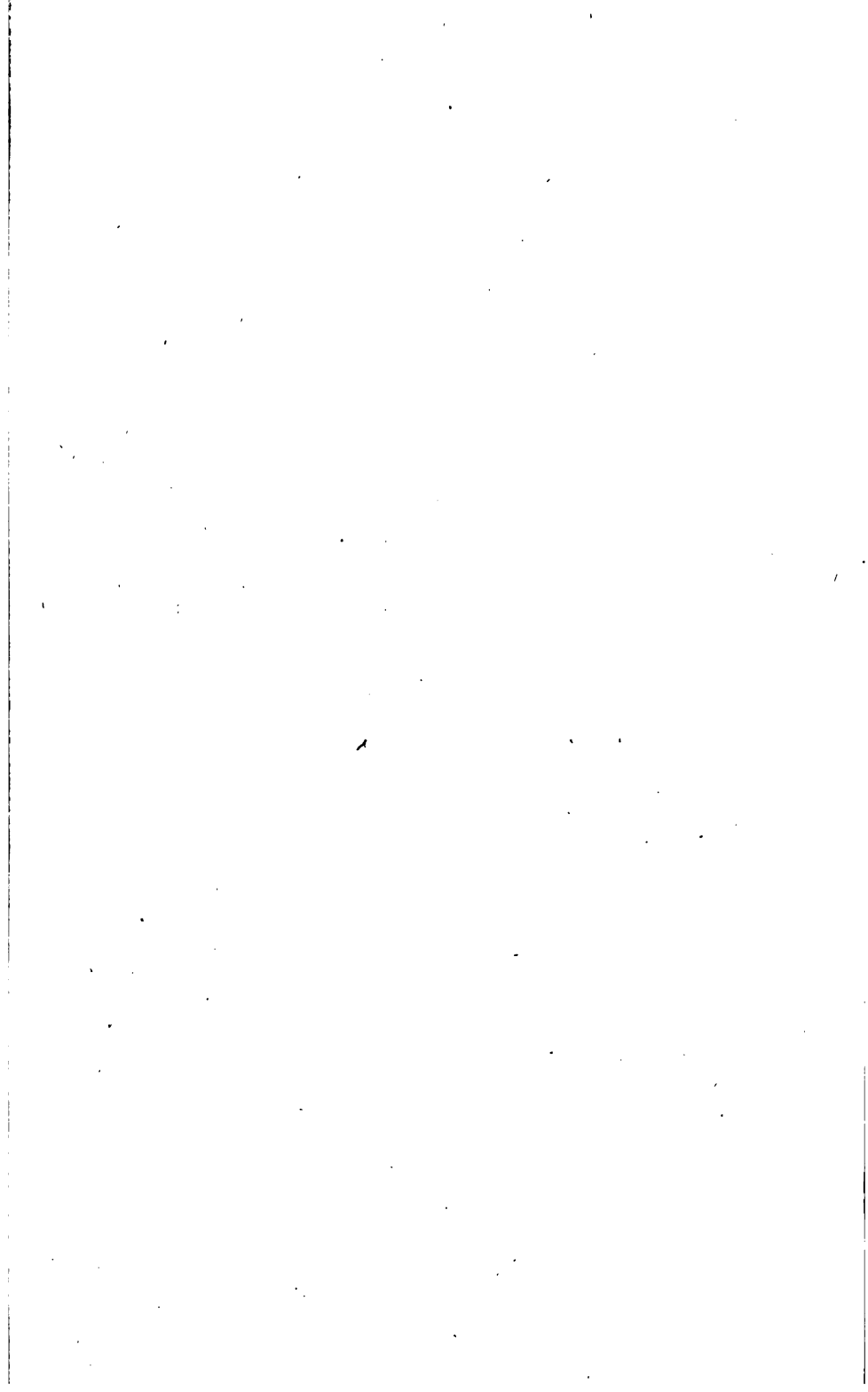
* See Lightfoot's Heb. and Talmud, Exercit. 2d vol. of his works, p. 659.

appellation

appellation undoubtedly applies only to the *characters* of that language; by some it is supposed that the Scriptures were originally written in the Assyrian character, and that after the first temple, the Canaanitish or Samaritan character was introduced; by others it is asserted, that none but Assyrian characters were ever used in writing the Scriptures; by others again, that the Samaritan character was only used till after the captivity;* by *all*, however, it is admitted, that the Assyrian letter was uniformly adopted in writing the Scriptures, after the return of the Jews from Babylon.† This then explains the term *Assyrian* as applied to the language of the Old Testament.

* Kennicot's Dissertation on the Hebrew Text.

† Prideaux's Connection, &c.



REMARKS

tending to prove that the Melita on which St. Paul was shipwrecked, was the Melita of the Mediterranean.

THE following account of a voyage of St. Paul is recorded in the New Testament.

St. Paul, after his examination by Agrippa, set sail for Italy; he touched at Sidon, coasted along the shores of Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, and arrived at Crete.

From Crete he was proceeding to Italy, when a violent storm arose, the wind Euroclydon blew with great violence, and the vessel in which St.

Paul had embarked, after being toft for fome time in the Adriatic, was finally ftanded on the coaft of Melita.*

That the Melita on which St. Paul was thus caft, was the Melita (or Malta) of the Mediterranean, and not that of the Adriatic, will appear highly probable from the following confiderations.

1ft.—Melita of the Mediterranean was more *in the direction* in which the fhip fhould pafs in its courfe from Crete to Italy, than the Melita of the Adriatic, and the mariners would undoubtedly endeavour as much as poffible to keep the vefTel in its proper direction, though driving before the ftorm.

2d.—The Euroclydon (which is tranflated in the vulgate Euroaquilo) was certainly a wind blowing from a *northern* quarter, hence it feems difficult to conceive that the vefTel fhould have been

* Acts, Chapter xxvii and xxviii.

driven *so far up* the Adriatic as to be wrecked on that Melita which lies opposite to the coast of Illyricum.

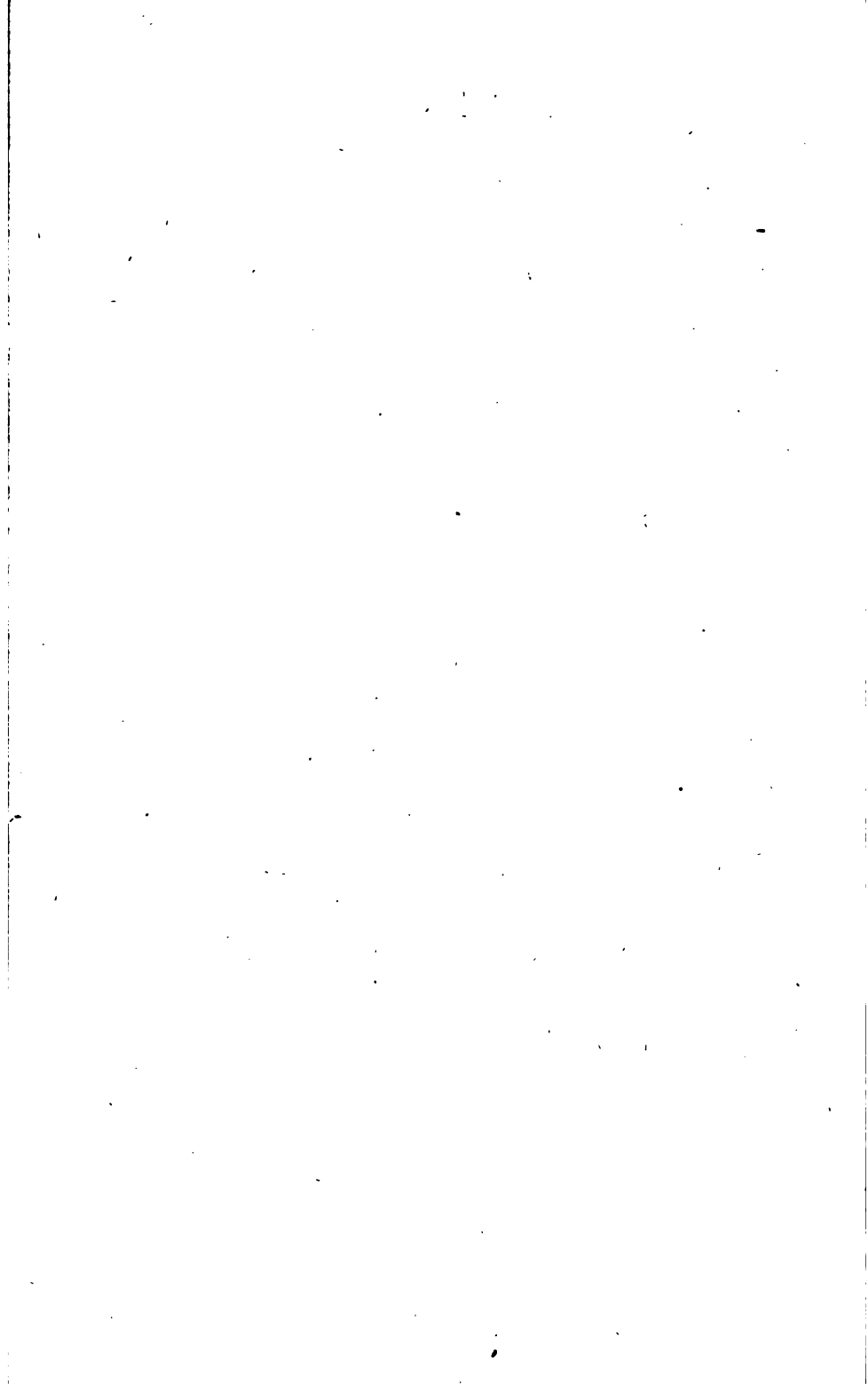
3d.—St. Paul says, indeed, that the ship was driven backwards and forwards in the *Adriatic*, yet it is not necessary to suppose that he means to speak here of the Adriatic, strictly so called, for Strabo observes, that the title of Adriatic was given to *the Adriatic and Ionian seas united*; the latter of these ran down to the most southern extremity of Italy, and it is highly probable, that, from some temporary variation of the wind, or from the force of currents, the vessel might be borne some little way into the *Ionian* sea, toft about there for a time, driven by the wind, (again blowing as before from a northern quarter) past Sicily, and finally dashed upon Malta, which is at no great distance from that island.

4th.—After St. Paul reaches Melita, he proceeds to Italy in an Alexandrian vessel; now the track of this vessel appears completely to determine
from

from *what* Melita St. Paul failed ; it coasts Sicily, touching at Syracuse, and proceeds to Rhegium and Puteoli ; from this course it is plain that the vessel must have failed from Melita in the Mediterranean, for it would be quite unreasonable to suppose that any vessel would have past from the Adriatic Melita to Italy in so circuitous and strange a direction.

5th.—It appears more probable that the Alexandrine vessel above mentioned should have been found at Melita of the Mediterranean, than at Melita of the Adriatic, because the former was a place of very considerable trade, and because it is evidently more in the course of a vessel which may reasonably have been supposed to have failed from Alexandria, and which appears to have been bound to Syracuse and to Italy.





AN ACCOUNT
OF
ST. GEORGE OF ENGLAND,
WITH A

Translation of a Gothic Fragment respecting him.

DIFFERENT opinions have been adopted respecting the æra, the origin, and the adventures of the tutelary Saint of England; and the doubts which are still entertained on these subjects will never perhaps be entirely removed, till some new sources of information shall be fortunately discovered. A summary view however of the historical information which we are now able to collect respecting St. George, will not be deemed, I trust, an unacceptable introduction to the translation

D

which

which I have to offer of a very ancient metrical fragment which celebrates his sufferings.

The account of St. George, which has the greatest pretensions to antiquity, is that attributed to Paficrates, who is reported to have been his servant: but both the authenticity and the date of this production are exceedingly questionable.

It has also been asserted by some, that the martyrdom of our patron Saint is recorded by Eusebius in entering upon the narrative of the persecution by Diocletian; but in the passage adduced in proof of this assertion, the name of George certainly does not occur,* although Eusebius might possibly mean to include him in the class of "military brethren," who first fell victims to the indignation of the Emperor.

But although such very equivocal testimonies as these may be readily rejected; and although a va-

* *ἐκ τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ἀδελφῶν καταρχομένων τοῦ διόγμου.*

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. viii. 1.

riety of idle, improbable tales respecting St. George, which have been introduced into the legends of Metaphrastes and others, have undoubtedly no better claim to attention, yet I cannot conceive that any good reason can be adduced for a contemptuous disregard of *all* that evidence respecting the life and character of our Saint, which is contained in the *most ancient rituals and service-books* of the Eastern Church.

The composers of these works may certainly have been occasionally tempted to exaggerate the virtues, the sufferings, or the powers of the canonized, but it is highly improbable that they should have so widely and wantonly deviated from truth, as not to have usually recorded, with some degree of accuracy, the *ordinary* circumstances which they deigned to notice.

Totally disregarding, then, any miraculous particulars related of St. George, we need not, I think, hesitate to believe, from an examination of the compositions above mentioned, that *he was a*

Saint of high repute in the Eastern Church at a very early period ; that he was a Cappadocian of a good family, a commander of note in the time of Diocletian, and that after obtaining the honourable title of Count, he finally suffered martyrdom on the twenty-third of April, the day on which his festival is still kept.*

* The above assertions rest upon the following passages :

Ὁ ἐνδοξος, καὶ θαυμαστός, καὶ μέγας μάρτυς Γεωργίος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἦν Διοκλητιανὸς τε βασιλεὺς ἐκ χώρας τῆς Καππαδοκίᾳ, γένος ἐπίσημο, ἐν ταῖς τῶν τριβῶν στρατείαις διαπρεπὴς—Κομὴς ἦν. Μηνιαῖον Ἀπρίλις κγ.

In verses sung just before the commemoration of St. George, in the Greek Church, we find :—

Ἐχθροὺς ὁ τεμνὼν Γεωργίος ἐν μάχαις

Ἐκὼν παρ' ἐχθρῶν τεμνέται δια ξίφος— and

Ἦρε Γεωργίῳ ἐκαδὶ τρίτῃ αὐχένα χαλκός.

He is thus addressed in the Greek ritual :—

Τὴ μεγάλη βασιλεὺς στρατιῶτα Γεωργίε—Καλλινικὲ Γεωργίε.

And is also styled in the same,

Μονομάχος

Μυριονικός Χρίστὲ ἀθλητής, and

Τροπαιοφόρος, αἰχμαλῶτων ἐλευθερωτής, καὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ὑπερασπιστής, ἀσθενούντων ἰατρός, βασιλεὺς ὑπερμάχος, μέγα-λδμάρτυς.

Even in the smaller rituals of the Greeks, St. George is uniformly noticed.

For farther satisfaction on this subject, see Selden's *Titles of Honor*. p. 659, 664, &c.

Such

Such is the brief, but, as I conceive, authentic account of St. George, which we collect from the venerable memorials above-mentioned, and the testimony which they afford us is, at least in some degree, corroborated by other evidence.

The institution by Constantine of a religious order of knighthood, under the title of *St. George*, in which was worn *a red cross*, with the words *εϋ τούτω νικά**, may certainly be adduced as a proof that our Saint was believed, in the time of that Emperor, to have been a christian warrior, and probably a martyr, of high rank and distinction.

The churches too which were erected in the East, in honour of St. George, are an additional evidence of the truth of what I have advanced above; the most remarkable of these was that which, according to Procopius, was founded by Justinian,

* See Eusebius in *vita Constantini*, and Selden's *Titles of Honor*. p. 667.

in Armenia;* that of Lydda, which was afterwards repaired by our Richard I, and that at Mangana, which, together with a Monastery, was built by the Bishop of Euchaita;† the founders of these churches, as indeed appears as well from the dedications of the buildings, as from some particulars preserved respecting them, certainly attributed to St. George the same character as that which we collect of him from the rituals of the Greeks.

That St. George *suffered at Ramel, and by the order of Diocletian*, (an opinion which rests chiefly on the authorities of Anna Commena,‡ Cedrinus and Baronius,) is not so strongly confirmed as the other particulars respecting him which I have re-

* Or as some imagine at Constantinople. The words of Procopius are, *και ιερον Γεωργιω τη μαρτυρι εν Βυζαντις εδωματο.* *Περι Κτισματων Ιουστιν. λογ. δευτ.*

By *βυζαντις* is most probably meant Bazanis, in Armenia. Johan. Cotovic. *Itinerar. Hierosolym.* Lib. 2.

† Cedrini *Compend. Hist.* p. 650.

‡ Speaking of Godfrey of Bulloign, she says *ΕΓΓΑ εκειθεν το Ραμελ κατελαβεν εν η ο Μεγαλομαρτυς Γεωργιος μεμαρτυρηκει.* *Alexiados, Lib. 8.*

lated above.—A very ancient Saxon martyrology* informs us that he was put to death by Thatianus, and this Thatianus (or Dacianus, for so the word has been erroneously read) has very absurdly been imagined by some to have been a Persian;† Selden, with more probability, conjectures that Thatianus is a corruption of Diocletianus, for it is at least abundantly plain, from the title of “*se Casere*,” which is affixed in the martyrology to the name of the person in question, that he must have been a *Roman Emperor*.

* From this martyrology the following curious extract is to be found in Selden’s *Titles of Honor*. p. 672, in transcribing it I have merely changed the Saxon to the Roman character:

“On thone threo and twentigothan dæg, thæs bith Saincte Georgius tyd, thæs ædelan martyres thone Thatianus se Casere seofan geare myð unafecgendlicum witum hýne threatode that he Crist withsoce, and he næfre hýne ofer swithan ne mihte; and æfter tham seofon gearum het he hýne beheafðian.”

† It is somewhat extraordinary that this opinion should have been countenanced by the venerable Bede; speaking of St. George, he says, “*qui sub Daciano, rege Persarum potentissimo qui dominabatur super 70 reges, &c.*”

Bedæ Martyrolog. p. 300.

The

The renown of St. George quickly extended itself into the West;* and many absurd stories appear to have been speedily added by the Roman devotees to the information which they had received respecting him from the Greeks.† The
 martyrology

* Salmon's Historical account of St. George, p. 77.

St. George's arm is said to have been presented by the Emperor Justinian to St. Germain, Bishop of Paris.

Aimonius de gest. Franc. Lib. 11. 20.

Romanam Ecclesiam (says Baronius in his De Divin. offic.) ad expugnandos fidei hostes hos præcipue martyres invocare consueviffe, Mauritium, Sebastianum et Georgium.

† See the Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, and the Lives of the Saints, by Surius and others.

I know of no earlier record of that most famous achievement of St. George, the *slaughter of the dragon*, than a hymn which is contained in a *very ancient composition* entitled *Horæ Beatæ Virginis secundum usum Sarum*; the words to which I allude are

O Georgi martyr inclyte,
 Te decet laus et gloria,
 Prædotatum militia.
 Per quem puella regia,
 Existens in tristitia,
 Coram dracone pessimo
 Salvata est.

I am not however hence inclined to infer that the story of the dragon was merely a European invention, as we are
 informed

martyrology which I have mentioned above, sufficiently proves that St. George was not unknown in this country even in the time of the Saxons, but it seems to be generally admitted that he was not received as the Guardian of our nation till the period of the Crusades, when the fierce and superstitious warriors of England most judiciously adopted for their patron a Saint who was not less distinguished by his valour than by his piety. The choice of the Crusaders was confirmed by the institution of the *Order of the Garter*.*

George, the *Arian*, or, as he has been called from the place of his birth, George of Cappa-

informed by Pococke, that a well was in his time shewn by the Turks, (who pay great respect to St. George under the title of *Cheter Eliaz*) near to which, they informed him, our Saint had slain the dragon which was hastening to devour the daughter of the king of Bayreut; this well is in the territory of the Druses.

See Pococke's Description of the East, Vol. 11, p. 91, and the Apologia of Joannes Cantacuzenus.

* It appears from Walsingham, that in the time of Henry V. the feast of St. George was decreed to be a "*festum duplex ad modum majoris duplicis*."

E

docia,

docia,* has by some writers been supposed to be the same person as the Saint of whom I have hitherto been speaking; the history of this man may be comprised in a few words: he appears to have been born of obscure parents, but, by his assiduity and obsequiousness, he obtained a profitable employment in the army, in which situation he acquired great wealth; having imbibed the opinions of Arius, he contrived, by the assistance of partisans of a similar faith, to force himself into the seat of Athanasius, at Alexandria:† the power which he had thus obtained was exercised to the worst of purposes; he not only persecuted with severity the opposers of his theological opinions, but by his illiberal conduct in other respects, he provoked a general indignation:‡ but the career of his violence and injustice was at length effectually checked; he was degraded, thrown into prison, and soon after massacred in a popular tumult.‡

* Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. iv. 29.

† Sozomen, as above, Lib. v. 8. Ammian. Marcel. Lib. 22.

‡ Socratis Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. 2.

He was exalted to the primacy of Alexandria in the reign of Constantine, and perished under Julian.*

This narrative cannot I think but convince every unprejudiced reader, that George the Arian was a very different person from St. George of the East, for without insisting upon the difficulty of introducing into the Catholic calendar a heterodox army-contractor, whose title to the honour of martyrdom was *openly disputed* by Epiphanius,† the particulars of his life, no less than the *mode* and *period* of his death, are utterly irreconcilable, by any ingenuity, with the history of the more ancient St. George.

Mr. Salmon has started a new hypothesis respecting our national Saint;‡ rejecting with an indignation not altogether unpardonable in an English-

* Sozomen and Socrates, as above.

† Tom. i. Lib. i.

‡ New Historical Account of St. George:

man, the mean and cruel George of Alexandria, he has introduced to us a *new* Saint, certainly of a much more respectable character than the one whom he discards, but whose pretensions to the honour which is claimed for him are equally ill-grounded. George of Ostia, Pope Adrian's legate to England, is the person who has attracted Mr. Salmon's attention, and whom he has endeavoured to prove, by a few fanciful arguments, to be the genuine tutelary Saint of our country: that George of Ostia was undoubtedly in England, that he was present at a council held at Cealchythe, that he much distinguished himself, by establishing, or rather by confirming the Catholic faith among the Anglo-Saxons, and that he was every where received with the respect and honour due to his character, all this, I say, may be supported by authorities which cannot be reasonably questioned;*

* Henry of Huntindon, p. 197. Hoveden. Annal. pars prior, p. 232. S. Dunelm. Ann. 786.

See too, respecting the Council, Chronic. Saxon, p. 63, and Spelman. Concil. p. 291, in the latter *Gregorio* is printed by mistake for *Georgio*.

but

but of his farther pretensions we have no proofs; it appears by no means certain that he was ever canonized; and the particulars respecting St. George, which are handed down to us in the martyrology of Bede, as well as in the Saxon martyrology above-mentioned, appear to me to prove most decisively that in the time of the Saxons, (and at no other time would the Bishop of Ostia have been so peculiarly celebrated) the St. George of the English Calendar, was the same as the St. George of the Greeks.*

I have

* The argument drawn by Mr. Salmon (p. 106.) in favour of his hypothesis, from certain churches dedicated to St. George, he has himself abundantly refuted, by acknowledging that not one of them (nor any one in England) is dedicated expressly in the name of St. George of Ostia.

The opinion, supported by Dr. Pettingal, that St. George is merely an *allegorical* personage, I conceive to be sufficiently disproved by what I have advanced above; but if any doubts should remain on this head, I must refer the reader to Dr. Heylin's History of St. George, (p. 161, &c.) from which he will learn that the *reality* of our Saint and Martyr is admitted by authors of all ages, from the fourth to the seventeenth century. Mr. Byrom's still more extraordinary

I have now to speak of the fragment of which I propose to give a literal translation; the original of it is written in the [Franco-Theotish language, and is annexed to the Vatican manuscript of Otfrid's *Francish Gospels* :* it is printed with a Latin translation and notes (by Sandvig) in the *Symbolæ Literaturæ Teutonicæ* of Suhm; I have omitted some lines which were defective or unintelligible, the rest is as follows :—

George went to judgment,
 With much honour,
 From the market-place,
 And with a great multitude (following him);

traordinary hypothesis, that St. George is the same person as *Pope Gregory the Great*, has been so satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Pegge, (*Archæologia* vol. v. p. 14, &c.) that it requires no farther notice.

• This is said to be the oldest Gothic or German version extant, and must consequently have been composed before the middle of the fourth century, as the version of Ulphilas is supposed to be of about that date.

He

He proceeded to the Rhine
 To (perform) the sacred duty,
 Which then was highly celebrated,
 And most acceptable to God.
 He quitted the kingdoms of the earth
 And he obtained the kingdom of heaven ;
 Thus did he do
 The illustrious Count George ;
 Then hastened all
 The Kings, who wished
 To see this man entering,

The Rhine.] It appears doubtful whether the original word should be translated "the Rhine," or "a place of judgment ;" if it means the former, it gives us some information respecting St. George, of which we have elsewhere no hint, and it may serve perhaps to support a conjecture that the zeal of St. George had prompted him to pass from the East into Germany, and thence into England, and that he had been there known as an early propagator of the Christian faith. I am more inclined however from the sequel of the poem to accept the interpretation of "a place of judgment."

Count.] It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that in giving this title to St. George, the writer of the fragment agrees with the Greek rituals.

(But)

(But) who did not wish to hear him.
 The spirit of George was there honoured,
 I speak truly from the report of these men,
 (For) he obtained
 What he sought from God.
 Thus did he
 The holy George.
 Then they suddenly adjudged him
 To prison ;
 Into which with him entered
 Two beautiful Angels

* * * * *

Then he became glad
 When that sign was made (to him);
 George there prayed;
 My God granted every thing
 To the words of George;
 He made the dumb to speak,
 The deaf to hear,
 The blind to see,

Sought from God.] I presume miraculous powers, or
 the glory of martyrdom.

The

The lame to walk,

* * * * *

Then began the powerful man

To be exceedingly enraged;

Tatian wished

To ridicule these miracles;

He said that George

Was an impostor.

He commanded George to come forth,

He ordered him to be unclothed,

He ordered him to be violently beaten

With a sword excessively sharp.

All this I know to be altogether true;

George then arose and recovered himself,

He wished to preach to those present,

And the Gentiles

Placed George in a conspicuous situation.

(Then) began that powerful man

Tatian.] This name agrees with the Thatianus of the Saxon martyrology; I have no better conjecture to offer respecting it than that of Selden, which has been noticed before.

To be exceedingly enraged,
 He then ordered George to be bound
 To a wheel, and to be twirled round ;
 I tell you what is fact ;
 The wheels were broken in pieces ;
 This I know to be altogether true ;
 George then arose and recovered himself.
 He there wished (to preach)—the Gentiles
 Placed George in a conspicuous place.
 Then he ordered George to be seized
 And commanded him to be violently scourged ;
 Many desired he should be beaten to pieces
 Or be burnt to a powder.
 They at length threw him into a well,
 There was this son of beatitude,
 Vast heaps of stones above him
 Pressed him down ;
 They took his acknowledgment ;
 They ordered George to rise ;
 He wrought many miracles,

His acknowledgment.] I presume this only means they discovered he was living.

As

As in fact he always does.

George rose and recovered himself,

He wished to preach to those present.

The Gentiles

Placed George in a conspicuous place.

* * * * *

* * * * *

They ordered him to rise,

They ordered him to proceed,

They ordered him instantly to preach;

Then he said

I am assisted by faith,

(Thus he said) when

Ye renounce the devil

Every moment * * *

* * * * *

This is what Saint George himself may teach us.

Then (he was permitted) to go into the chamber

To the Queen;

He

The Queen.] The Queen spoken of above is probably that Alexandra (the supposed wife of Diocletian) who has

He began to teach her,
 She began to listen to him—

The fragment here terminates; it is certainly not without its due portion of the incredible, and the absurd; but as its antiquity is *very great*, as it has hitherto been almost unnoticed, and as it tends so strongly to confirm some of the particulars respecting St. George, which we gather from the Greek rituals, I trust that it will not be deemed totally unworthy of attention.

Having no inclination to extend my enquiry here into all the idle legendary tales of which St. George

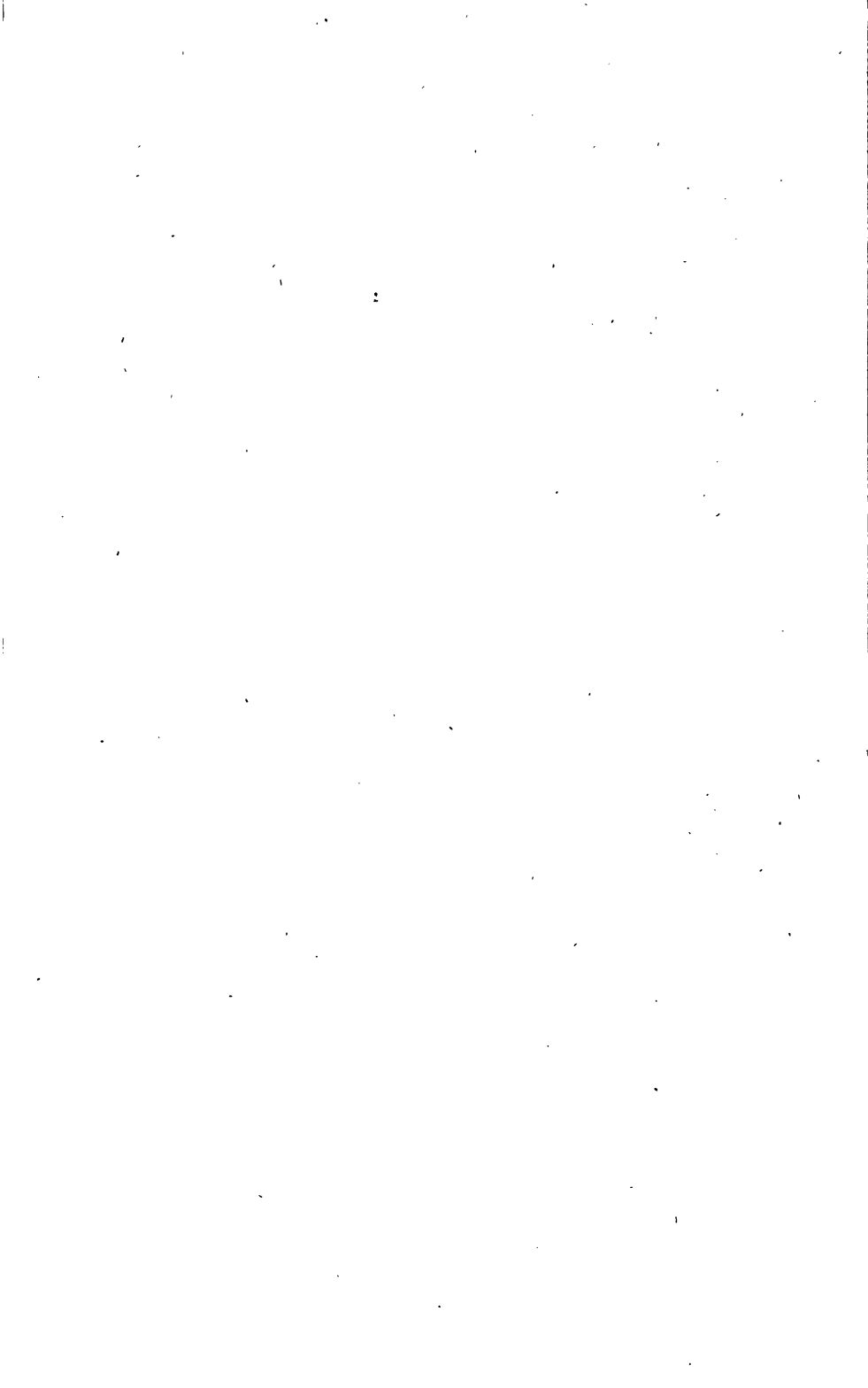
been canonized by the Catholic Church; this lady is reported to have been converted by St. George to the Christian faith, and to have suffered martyrdom with her teacher; in the celebration of her feast-day, some honours were also paid to St. George. A further account of Alexandra may be found in the *Passionale Lubicense*.

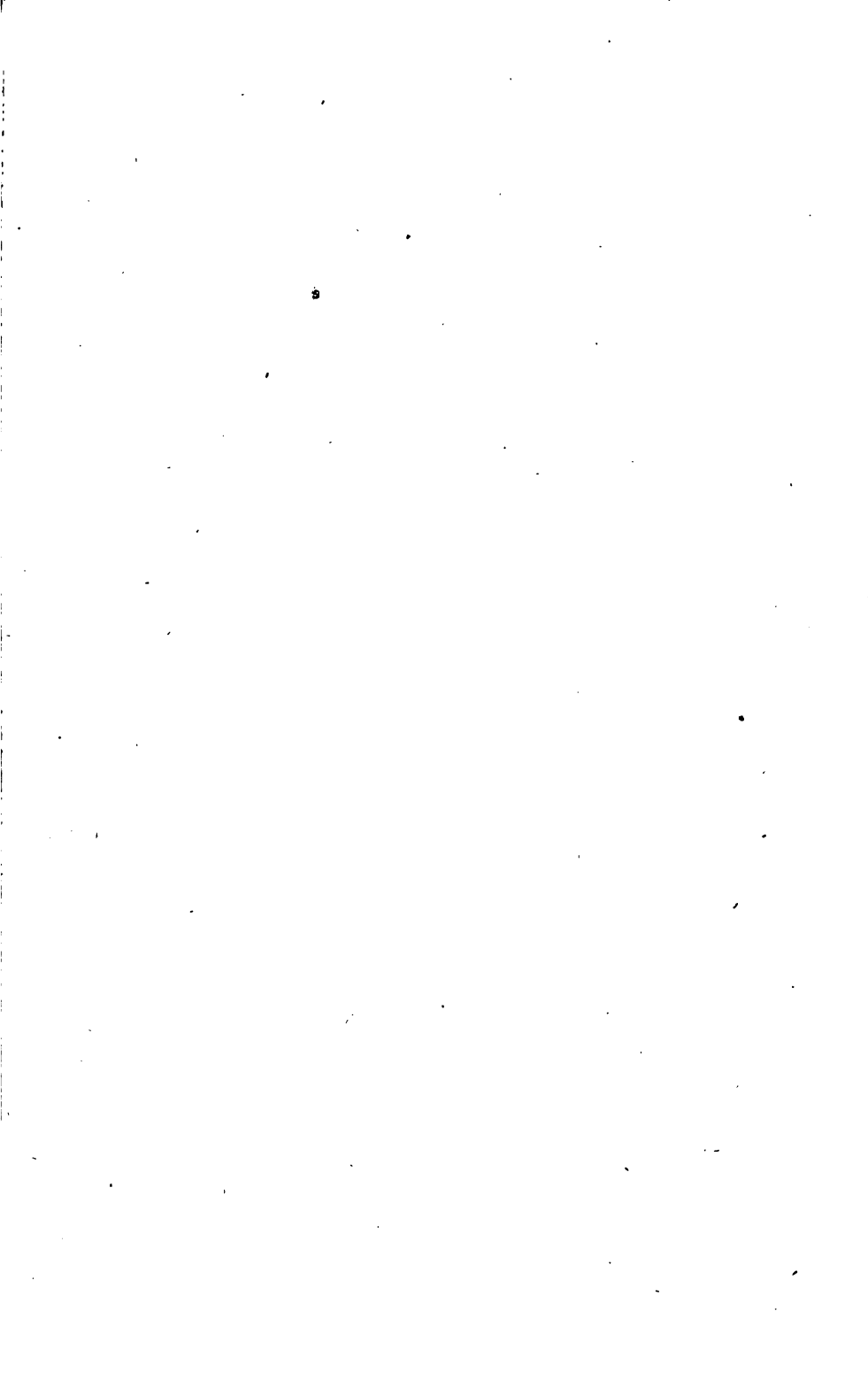
is the hero,* and from which, as they are chiefly of a *later* date than the service books of the Greeks, and little else than repetitions of each other in all *material* points, no information I conceive could be extracted, which would prove more satisfactory than that which I have adduced above, I shall conclude this essay with observing, that the *red cross*, which is usually attributed to St. George for an armorial bearing, was possibly adopted from the institution of Constantine's order of knighthood, which I have already mentioned; that the figure of the same Saint *armed and on horseback*, expresses his martial character, and was introduced by the Greeks at a very early period; that the *dragon* which he is depicted as slaying, is generally, and I believe justly, deemed to be the symbol of

* I cannot, however, deny myself the pleasure of copying the spirited address by which he is said to have provoked the rage of Diocletian: "Et ego, inquit, O imperator, sum Christianus; miror autem tanto in idolis colendis errore vos detineri, et æternum et viventem Deum ignorare, qui et ipsum hoc regnum tibi, O imperator, dedit.

Vitæ Sanct. potiss. ex Surio collect. Aprilis XXIII.

Paganism; and that the figure of *a young woman kneeling* by St. George, which is frequently met with in paintings and carvings, was either designed as a type of some city or province imploring his aid, or may have been rather intended to represent the damsel whom he is reported to have so gallantly saved from destruction.





S K E T C H
OF
THE RISE AND PROGRESS
OF
ENGLISH POETRY.

THERE is no reason to suspect that any poetry existed in Britain previous to that of the *Cymric* or *Celtic* bards; the date of their most ancient compositions we seek in vain, as the *origin* of the bardic system is entirely obscured by its profound antiquity.

During the period in which a large portion of Britain was possessed by the *Romans*, the inhabitants certainly imbibed some tincture of Roman litera-

G

ture

ture, and Roman arts: rhetoric was a study in which the British youth are said to have greatly excelled; but as the bards were still the chief, if not the sole composers of poetical pieces, and as the religious opinions of these men, no less than their extreme hatred to their conquerors, effectually deterred them from any attempt at imitating Roman productions, the character and spirit of our national poetry still remained unchanged.

When England was subdued by the *Saxons*, the Britons chiefly retired into Cornwall and Wales, and a portion of them thence fled into Armorica, a country which had before received British Colonies in the time of Constantine and of Maximus;* the name of this district was soon after changed to *Britanny*,† and its language, which nearly resembled that of Wales, received the appellation of *Bas-Breton*.

* See Camden's Chapter on Armorica (in his *Britannia*), and Milton's *History of England*.

† Camden, as above.

The national poetry of England was now cultivated only in Armorica, in Wales, and in such parts of Britain as had not yet yielded to the Saxon arms, while the country which the invaders had subdued received with its conquerors the *Scandinavian* poetry.

The Saxons not only introduced into England their Edda, their Sagas*, and other pieces of Runic verse,† but to these they soon after added new productions;

* Many specimens of these compositions have been preserved by Snorro, Torfæus, and Bartholinus.

† The poetry of the Scandinavians is not without its pretensions to antiquity; their war-songs are noticed by Tacitus, and are probably of a much earlier date than the time in which that writer flourished: most of their mythological poems are admitted to have been composed soon after the time of Odin, of whose æra, however, various opinions are entertained, but he is by none fixed at a later period than the fourth century: Sæmund's, or the more modern Edda, is not supposed to have been written till after the year 500.

Doubtless the poetry of the Britons may be traced much farther back than that of the Scandinavians; but the more celebrated Welsh bards, as Taliesin, Llywark, Talhiart, &c. did not flourish till the sixth century.

ductions; some specimens of early Anglo-Saxon poetry are to be found in Hickes, they chiefly consist of moral rhapsodies, scriptural histories, or religious invocations; some remains of Cædmon, a Saxon poet of high repute, are preserved by Bede; the song on Athelstan's victory is an Anglo-Saxon piece of much merit; a conveyance of Edward the Confessor's, and a very ancient description of the Bath waters, both of which are composed in *rime*, are particularly curious.*

Such

Various kinds of poetry, as hymns, elegies, heroic songs, satyrs, &c. are to be found among both the nations of whom I am speaking; *rime* also was common to them both; by the Welsh it was used, I believe, *always*; by the Scandinavians *rarely*, as they wrote in a vast variety of measures, in which alliteration, and other tricks of construction, rendered *rime* less necessary; Egill's Ransome (p. 92, of Five pieces of Runic poetry) is one of their most celebrated rimed productions; *rime* also occasionally occurs in the Dying Ode of Regner Lodbrog.

* The Scalds of the Continent occasionally visited England after it was subdued by the Saxons and Danes, and there produced verses, which were received with much applause; Egill was in high favour with Æthelstan; and many poems have been preserved, which were composed by
Sighvatr

Such are the more remarkable though scanty remains which have yet been published of the Anglo-Saxon school,

The settlement of the *Danes* in England produced but a slight effect either upon the language or the poetry of the nation; the specimens of Dano-Saxon verses which are preserved by Hickes, strongly resemble the purer Anglo-Saxon poems, both in dialect and in matter.*

At the Norman conquest, however, the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and of course the Anglo-Saxon poetry, were anxiously discouraged; Talliefer and Berdic, the minstrels of the Conqueror, accompanied their master to England, and Norman poetry was

Sighvatr, Ottar, and the other Scalds who attended Canute; the verses of these men cannot, however, be considered, with strict propriety, as works of the Anglo-Saxon School, but rather of the *Scandinavian or Runic*, from which indeed that school immediately sprang:

* Some of these pieces are rimed.—Hicke's Thesaurus, p. 222, &c.

consequently

consequently introduced. Philip de Than, who lived in the time of Henry I. and who was the author of the *Liber de Creaturis*, appears to have been the first poet in England who composed in the Norman tongue; his example was followed by Nantueil, by Gaimar, and by Wace; the *Brut* of this latter writer was finished about 1155, and was rimed; other writers might be enumerated who composed their poetical works in the Norman dialect; but it is enough to observe, that the *pure Norman* school of poetry seems to have prevailed from the reign of the first to that of the second Henry.

To the Norman succeeded the *Anglo-Norman* school; in this the Saxon dialect was preserved, but with an uncertain mixture of Norman words; the first writer of this school was Layamon, who translated Wace's *Brut*;^{*} the author of the *Land of Cockayne* is another composer of the same class,

* This translation is chiefly in rime.

though

though the Saxon prevails more in his composition than in the work of Layamon. Robert of Gloucester, Manning, and a few other writers of inferior note, constitute the remainder of this school.* The favourite materials of the poets, both of the Norman and Anglo-Norman schools, were the tales of *Chivalry* and *Romance*; this species of writing, if not invented in Armorica, was thence imported into England, and chiefly through the medium of the Normans. The minstrels of William the Conqueror, who sang to his troops the animating praises of Charlemagne and Roland, may justly be considered as the earliest introducers of the strains of Romance, and the subsequent acquisition

* Nearly about the period in which we may fix the origin of the Anglo-Norman school, a great rage for *Latin* composition appears to have arisen, both among the writers of prose and verse; John of Salisbury, Peter de Blois, and Joseph of Exeter, (the loss of whose *Antiocheis* cannot but be greatly regretted) were in their day particularly distinguished in this species of writing; and the practice was adopted, although apparently with inferior success, by Ramsey, Nequam, Essebie, and others.

of the Exploits of King Arthur, of the *Geste* of King Horne, of Turpin's Charlemagne, and of many works of a similar kind, propagated a very general admiration of that species of composition, and excited in the poets of the time an eager desire to translate, or to imitate, productions of so fascinating a kind.

The Anglo-Norman school of poetry was followed by that which I cannot better distinguish than by the denomination of *English* : of this school Chaucer is the acknowledged father ; the language indeed of this writer abounds, like that of his immediate predecessors, with Norman words, but the eminence of his productions fixed with tolerable stability that mixture of French and Saxon which was to constitute the basis of the English tongue ; and although it cannot be denied that many of the words which he has used are now become obsolete, yet the general structure and composition of our language have never been materially changed since the period in which he wrote.

The

The followers of Chaucer, or the race of poets of the English school, are exceedingly numerous, and may be considered, without impropriety, as descending to our own times; but although it would be difficult, if not impossible, to form any very accurate classification of these writers merely from the varieties which occur in the *language* of their compositions, yet some *general* distinction of them may still be established from an attention to the *models* which have been the favourite objects of their imitation.

The first traces which can be discovered in English poetry of an imitation of the Italian writers occur, I believe, in the works of Chaucer; the example, however, thus given by this extraordinary man does not appear to have been generally followed till the days of Elizabeth; at this period Spencer and a few of his cotemporaries established a school of poetry, which has been highly and justly celebrated under the title of *Italian*.

From the time of Spencer to that of Dryden, some marks of the imitation of Italian writers, or of their followers, may be traced in most of our poets of note. Shakspeare, indeed, borrowed little more than the fables of his plays from any writer, but in his sonnets he has certainly adopted the taste of his age; Milton was formed no less upon the Ancient than the Italian model; but the whole race of metaphysical poets, beginning with Donne and ending with Cowley, were decided imitators of the absurd conceits, the fatiguing allegories, and the profuse description of Marino.

Dryden forms a new æra in our poetry; although he retained some of the Italian materials, yet his taste and his versification were principally formed by the study of French writers;* this
great

* I cannot refrain from expressing the astonishment and admiration with which I contemplate the happy union of harmony and vigour that pervades the poetry of Dryden; from no other writer can we derive an *equally* strong idea of the majesty, force, and sweetness of the English tongue;

great man then, together with Pope and the rest of his imitators, constitute a school which may be termed, with sufficient accuracy, the *French school*.†

Although the tales, as well as the mythology, of Greece and Rome had long since served to decorate the poetry of England, and although the

tongue; and I trust that I may be permitted to add (nearly in the words which a great critic has used in commending the prose of Addison) "that whoever wishes to acquire a skill in English versification, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Dryden."

† It is scarcely necessary to observe, that in endeavouring to establish a convenient classification of the English Poets, I by no means intend to assert that *every* poet who lived in the periods of which I am speaking, can, with propriety, be included in the school which generally prevailed in his age; thus about the time in which the French school was established, the celebrated Butler appeared, whose claim to a perfect singularity of manner must be universally admitted, and at a later æra were produced the *Night Thoughts* of Young, the *Seasons* of Thompson, and the *Bath-guide* of Aikin, each of which is decidedly characterized by a striking originality.

most splendid and graceful imitations of the ancients had distinguished the works of Milton, yet a taste for the classical forms of composition never seems to have so generally prevailed in England, as when it was awakened by the animating productions of Collins and Gray; these writers then may be properly deemed the founders of a *Greek* school.

As the works of this school, however, can only be highly relished, or well imitated, by those who have acquired some tincture of learning, it cannot be reasonably expected that they should ever be very popular or very abundant; and although the taste for compositions formed on the ancient models is far from being extinct, yet that species of writing has lately received a powerful check from the loud and almost universal applause which has been won by the translators and imitators of the German writers.

The novelty, the extravagance, and the pathos of the *German* school was not ill calculated to produce a vehement effect on the minds of a people,
whose

whose taste has been perhaps in some degree injured by their ardent and very laudable affection to their great national poet; and even the caricatures of his excellencies and defects (for such are many of the works of which I am speaking) were consequently received with no ordinary delight. The reputation however of the German school is already in its wane, the enthusiasm which it awakened has been already abated by the strictures of sound criticism, and by the sneers of well-directed ridicule; and we may now indulge a hope that the Garden of English Poesy will soon be watered by the streams of a purer Hippocrene.



H I N T S

ON

ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.

IT is greatly to be regretted that the Architectural work which had been planned by Gray and Mason, should never have been brought to perfection; that work, as appears from Mr. Gray's letters, would have been composed of a *series of drawings* illustrative of English Architecture, in all the most remarkable periods of its progress, and of remarks upon these drawings, tending to *establish certain criteria*, by which the age of any building in Britain, or of the parts of such building, might readily have been determined with accuracy.

A work

A work of a similar kind, although much inferior to that which might have been expected from the united talents and skill of Gray and of Mason, would certainly be highly acceptable, and could not but greatly facilitate the acquisition of architectural knowledge, which is now to be sought for in a variety of unconnected works, many of which are certainly performances of great and deserved reputation, but from which, as they commonly illustrate only some *particular building*, and as they frequently abound with theoretical enquiry, it is by no means easy to select in abundance such remarks as may assist us in forming a general system of English Architecture.

From having experienced some inconvenience from the want of such a manual as that of which I have just been speaking, I have endeavoured to sketch out from the works of others, and from the observations which I have been able to make myself, a general view of those classes into which the structures or remains of structures in this Island, may be conveniently distributed, and under each
of

of these divisions I have noticed, where necessary, the kinds of buildings, &c. which may be properly included in it, and *some* of the more remarkable peculiarities by which the structures of that class or age, are commonly distinguished.

The Memoranda (for they can be deemed little more), which I have thus collected and arranged, I am now induced to offer to the public, by the wish to explain more fully, the species of performance which I have been recommending in the preceding pages, and by the hope that till a more copious and finished work of the same kind shall appear, the following Hints may not be totally unwelcome.

H I N T S

ON

ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.

ANCIENT BRITISH.

THE old British or Celtic remains chiefly consist of caves, hiding places, conical huts, hill-fortresses, stones of memorial, circles of memorial, Druidical circles, viz. astronomical, juridical, and places of worship, Druidical altars, cromlechs (or altars for human sacrifices), barrows, cairnes (or sepulchral heaps of stones) kistvaens (or sepulchral stone caves), Logan or rocking-stones, Tolman or bafon-stones; towers of stone and mortar, in imitation of those of the East, viz. single, round, or angular towers,

towers, with steps on the outside to the entrance, and a dungeon at the bottom; generally of three stories, the upper ones consisting of a chamber or *μυχος*, and of a larger room, but all small; a passage in the wall, loops, and *one* window in the upper part of the tower, stone closets in the wall, chimnies and fire-places in the rooms; the tower generally situated on high ground. *Duns*—similar buildings to the last, but smaller, conical, and without mortar.

At a later period, probably from about the year 300 to 400, the inhabitants of Britain not only continued to build structures of a similar kind, but they also imitated the Roman works; their fortresses were now generally placed on rocks of a great height, they were surrounded by one or more walls, and in the area were offices for attendants; a postern was added; no machicolations. The arch was now borrowed from the Romans, but the British arch was coarse, and the key stone was not inserted with accuracy.

ROMAN.

From the Conquest of Britain by the Romans to 422.

The remains of Roman architecture in Britain, besides their celebrated *walls* and *roads*, are chiefly the following: *Castra* of a regular oblong shape, with the *Decuman* (or larger) and *Prætorian* (or smaller) gate of entrance at the opposite extremities of the camp, with two other gates (the *principes*) opening on opposite sides into the middle of the camp; a *vallum* and *foss*; towers in the walls, and generally at the gates of entrance; the walls of the *castra* were usually composed of *strata* of Roman bricks (which are very hard, large, and thinish), and of *strata* of flints cut, and very regularly placed, or of other stones; the whole cemented by a strong mortar. Remains of the *Prætorium* are often to be traced.

Besides the *castra*, we find among the Roman remains, a few fragments of temples, villas, and
baths,

baths, (in some of which portions of hypocausts have been discovered) of tessellated pavements, reliefs, and statues, generally much injured, and of small votive altars, with inscriptions.

Very few Roman arches remain in Britain, and some of them are rudely executed, but others with much exactness.*

SAXON.

From about 450 to 1066.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

The churches of the Saxons were of wood till about the year 658, when Benedict and Wilfred

* For many of the above particulars I have to acknowledge myself indebted to that very admirable work, the *Munimenta Antiqua*; and in the following divisions, I have, in some degree, adopted the classification which is recommended by Warton.

began

began to build with stone; it has been observed as a general characteristic, that most parts of the Saxon buildings are on "a circular principle;" round arches, imitations of the Roman ones, were used in their doors, windows, &c; in general few ornaments, no cima, ovolo, nor scotia, some zig-zag and mouldings, with heads of animals, &c. but usually simple; they occasionally, however, have a rich appearance, from being double, triple, or quadruple; the materials which were used by the Saxons were commonly rough flints and other stones rudely shaped, except for ornament or inside work; they had no towers to their churches before Edgar's time (in 959); their towers were generally round and maffy; the roofs of their buildings were of timber, the pillars thick and round, with a sort of regular capital and base, the capitals of leaves or flourishes sometimes rich, the windows were mostly small; the east end of some of the Saxon churches was circular.

The

The bricks, and probably the mortar, used by the Saxons were imitations of the Roman brick and mortar.*

The *fonts* were at this period very large, and frequently situated low, a mode of construction which is accounted for by the Saxon custom of immersing in water the whole body of the person baptized.

* I am aware that it has been much doubted whether the Saxons knew the art of making bricks; I have not, however, hesitated to believe that they did, from having seen specimens of bricks, or rather tiles, of *great antiquity*, which were picked out of the ruins of the very ancient church of Leziate, near Lynn Regis; these tiles, of which forty or fifty were collected, are of hard red earth, about four inches and a half square, and not more than one inch thick; their surfaces, which are of a pale yellowish hue, appear to have been glazed, and on one of them several Saxon letters are *distinctly impressed*: Tiles of this kind were chiefly used for pavements.

SAXON FORTRESSES.

They were commonly situated on hills; they had a circular foss, narrower and shallower than that afterwards introduced by the Normans, but more extended; the towers, or rather castles of the Saxons were larger than the British; they were usually of a squarish form, sometimes with angular abutments, and sometimes running out at their corners into a circular shape; their walls were very thick; they had a *keep*; two or more stories of apartments not large; a dungeon; small windows or loops; no chimnies, the smoke passing through the top of the room; in the oldest castles or towers the entrance was by steps from without, but afterwards it was even with the ground, over the door were machicolations; the main building stood in an area formed by a surrounding wall, in this were sometimes smaller towers at unequal distances; the walls were often of chalk, flint, and sandstone mixed.

SAXO-NORMAN.

SAXO-NORMAN.

*ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.**From 1066 to about 1200.*

In this period the pillars were more massy and ornamented than those of the Saxons, the roof was arched, and of stone; a variety of mouldings were gradually introduced, as the nail-head, billet, hatchet, nebule, fillet; the capitals were more ornamented; some rude *pointed* arches have been discovered of the time of Henry I.* and Stephen; but the round Saxon arch was still generally retained; intersecting round arches occasionally oc-

* In the north transept of Norwich Cathedral, which was built by Bishop Herbert at the end of *William Rufus' reign*, an arch *slightly* pointed is now to be seen, which we have no reason to suppose is of a more modern date than the rest.

cur,* and series of ornamental small round arches; diamond-shaped stone-work, herring-bone work, rows of small arches, circles, and other ornaments, now appear on the outside of towers, &c.; the whole scale of building is larger than the Saxon, and more ornamented.

NORMAN.†

From 1200 to about 1300.

The *pointed arch* now became common, though the round arch was not entirely relinquished; the favourite

* A beautiful row of intersecting round arches is extended across the *whole west front* of the Priory of the Virgin, at Castleacre, Norfolk; this Priory was built by Wm. de Warren, Earl of Surrey, in 1090.

† Though I still continue to apply to our Architecture in the following periods the title of Norman, it might perhaps with equal propriety be now termed *English*, and I merely continue to use the former of these words for the sake of avoiding a more ambiguous expression.

As

favourite form for some time was the lancet-shaped; the towers now erected were generally square,

As the Architecture of England was in all probability influenced in no small degree by the alterations and improvements which took place in the Norman Architecture *on the Continent*, it is somewhat extraordinary, that we should neither possess any complete account of the ancient buildings of the Gallo-Normans, nor, what would be still more desirable, a *comparative view* of the state of Architecture in Normandy and England after the conquest. Indeed *all* the antiquities of Normandy are from that period intimately connected with those of our own country; and Ducarel, in his Anglo-Norman Antiquities, has merely begun an enquiry which might certainly be pursued with great advantage.

There is undoubtedly good reason for supposing that the *pointed arch* was known in Normandy before its introduction into this kingdom; in one of the towers of the west front of St. Stephen's at Caen (built by William the Conqueror in 1054) *pointed arches* occur; but as in the tower on the contrary side, and in the other parts of the front, we find only *round arches*, the pointed ones in this instance, may *possibly* be of a more modern date than the rest of the building, and I am the more inclined to believe this to be the case, because in another building at Caen of a later date, (the Church of the Holy Trinity) I find no traces of a pointed

square, and loftier than those of the preceding æra; spires were introduced in 1222; the pillars of the churches

ed arch. In the Cathedral of Bayeux, however, built by Philip of Harcourt in 1159, *pointed* arches abound, and also in the very ancient Norman Church of St. Sauveur du Marche; Ducarel goes so far as to assert that the *round* arch was introduced into Normandy after the conquest in imitation of the Saxon one, a conjecture which I imagine will not be readily adopted.

It is also worthy of observation, that the two towers of St. Stephen's of Caen, are both topped by *spires*, and that spires as well as *fluted* pillars and very beautiful *painted* glafs, are also to be seen in the palace of William the Conqueror at Caen; spires occur too in the abovementioned Cathedral of Bayeux.

Although I am aware that I shall digress from the subject before me, yet I trust I shall be excused if I here insert a few curious observations (from Ducarel p. 98) on the *curfeu bell*. "The covrefeu or curfeu bell," he observes, "exists almost every where, and yet the ignorance of the people of all ranks is such that they are entirely unacquainted with its history. At Caen they call it *la retraite*, and fancy that it was instituted to call the soldiers to their quarters. In other places they consider it as intended to summon the people to the compline, or last daily service of the Roman Catholic Church, which anciently was performed at eight o'clock in the evening, though it now begins at five. The institution of the curfeu bell is usually attributed to William the

churches, &c. were very massy, often fluted or cut spirally, and occasionally clustered, with ornaments

the Conqueror, who is said, after his conquest of England, to have ordered that it should be rung at eight o'clock at night, and that then all persons should retire to their own houses, and put out their fire and candle, he thereby politically intending to prevent all private meetings and cabals among the English, who, he apprehended, were inclined to contrive a revolt, and that finding the good effect of this injunction in England, he introduced it into Normandy. Some persons however are of opinion, and that not without good grounds, that the ringing the curfew bell was instituted by Duke William before his conquest of England, and in the year 1061, upon the following occasion. The Duke, say they, having summoned a provincial council to be held at the Church of St. Paix de Tous Saintes at Caen, which he had lately built, took effectual care to stop all commotions and disorders during the time of that assembly by ordaining the strict observance of a state of tranquillity which he called *La Trieve de Dieu*, and that finding the good effects of this ordinance, he enjoined the continuance of it all over Normandy, and from thence introduced it into England.

In Normandy we see this bell directs the people when to say their prayers. It might formerly be of the same use in England, or the custom of ringing it might be kept up with a view to inform the meaner sort of people, who had neither clocks nor almanacks, how the time went."

, and

and mouldings, as before; stained glass was introduced, the vaulting of the roof was ribbed, the windows were larger, and divided by mullions of the plainer kinds, the east and west windows were of considerable dimensions; series of low and close arch work, sometimes with a pointed head were often placed on the front of buildings; flints and stones well shaped.

ORNAMENTED NORMAN.

From 1300 to about 1450.

Henry the Sixth's, or King's College Chapel is the most finished specimen of the architecture of this period; the pillars were now more clustered and slender, the windows were larger, and divided into several lights, and branched out at the top into a multiplicity of whimsical shapes and com-

partments,

partments, the glass was painted with figures,* abundance of small ornamental pointed arches occur; some of them formed niches in which statues were placed; spiry and other ornaments increased; the shape of the arch, of which I shall speak again, often changed; the mouldings were very various, and the mullions of the windows were complex: screens and other ornaments of painted and carved wood appear to have been now introduced, and the doors of the larger ecclesiastical buildings at least were now cut into various fantastical shapes.

FLORID NORMAN.

From 1450 to about 1500.

Henry the Seventh's Chapel is the most perfect specimen of the architecture of this period; the

* Painted glass was often procured for the English Churches, from the great manufactory of that article established at Rouen.

Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*, p. 14.

style

style of this æra was like that of the last, but still more highly ornamented; the roofs were adorned with a beautiful fretwork of stone, rich and delicate carving in stone and brass, figures, statues, pinnacles, angular ornaments, treillages, and every kind of decoration, wrought to its greatest perfection, were profusely introduced.



Soon after the Norman conquest Caen stone and Purbeck marble were employed in ecclesiastical structures; the flints and stones which were then used were cut and joined with somewhat more dexterity than before, at least in the exterior of buildings, and the outside of some of the churches and chapels of the last æra of Norman Architecture are extremely beautiful, particularly when formed of flint *inlaid* with stone of various shapes.*

* The exterior of the Chantry Chapel of the Virgin (built in the time of Henry VII.) on the south side of St. Michael's of Colman's Church, Norwich, is a remarkably fine specimen of this species of workmanship.

Some

Some portions still remain in our churches of a *very ancient kind* of pavement, composed of small, square, and very solid tiles, which greatly resemble the Roman brick in their structure and form.*

Even in the time of the Saxons some coarse *painting* and *staining*, and *painted figures* also appear to have been occasionally introduced into their religious buildings; this practice was continued by the Normans, and the walls of most of our churches, chantries, &c. till the period of the reformation, were decorated with paintings or drawings of our Saviour, of the Virgin, or of the Saints to whom the building was dedicated.

The *Saxon characters* were used, as well as the Roman, in inscriptions on tombs, &c. till about

* They are nearly the same as the *Saxon* bricks or tiles spoken of above, but they may possibly be a Norman imitation of those tiles, or of the Roman bricks.

the beginning of the fourteenth century;* the *Gothic* letter was then introduced, and continued in use in sepulchral, and other brasses and tablatres, till about the latter end of the sixteenth century, when the *Roman* character was revived.

Remarks on the Pointed Arch.

The earliest pointed arches seem to have deviated but little from the round arch; but when generally introduced in the time of Henry III. they were formed of a much more angular shape, which has been, not inaptly, compared to a lancet; in the reign of Edward I. they were somewhat more open, but were, at least frequently, *very* narrow and pointed in the time of Edward H. The arch

* The latest inscription in the *Saxon* letter which I have been able to discover in any of the numerous churches in the city of Norwich, is an inscription in Norman French, dated 1298, engraved on the wall which is united to the steeple of St. Mary's of Collany, and which is much older than the rest of the church.

peculiar to the reign of Edward III. is formed by two *straight* lines rising from the top of the supporting sides, and meeting in a point; this species of arch does not appear, however, to have continued very long in vogue; in Richard II.'s time the arch was well proportioned, but not so beautiful as those of Henry IV. and V. the latter more especially preserve a medium in their breadth and height which is difficult to define, but which unites in an extraordinary degree both lightness and magnificence; the arch appears to have been much flattened in many of the buildings of the æra of Henry VI. from which circumstance it derives a heavy appearance; the shape of the arches of King's-college Chapel, of the Chapel at Windfor, founded by Edward IV. and of the Chapel of Henry VII. are too well known to require any particular description.

NORMAN FORTRESSES.

The Norman castles were larger than the Saxon ones, and usually situated on high hills; they were

surrounded by a deep circular ditch, and sometimes by two or three; the spaces circumscribed by these ditches were denominated *ballia*, and thus the castle had its inner, its outer, and sometimes its third ballium; the castle itself was generally of a squarish form; its walls were thick and high; it had a keep, a draw-bridge, a postern, and not unfrequently a barbican; the entrance to the castle was on the ground, and was secured by a portcullis and sometimes by a fenced entry; most of the buildings of which I am speaking had hanging arches to defend their loops, and were also topped with turrets and battlements; they had at first but few windows in the lower stories; they generally contained several large rooms, as well as a chapel, and in the time of Edward I. a great hall was added to many of them; they had regular chimnies, and offices were built to them in the adjoining courts. They were more ornamented on the outside than the Saxon castle. Religious houses were often situated near them.

Such,

Such, then, are the more remarkable criteria by which the æras of our ancient ecclesiastical and military structures may be determined, as I conceive, with tolerable accuracy.

In the reign of Henry VIII. the *Norman*, or as it is most commonly called, the *Gothic Architecture* began to decline, and in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, the *Roman Architecture* was introduced into England in its stead.*

* A full and chronological account of the changes which have taken place in the structure of the *dwelling-houses and mansions* of the English, would doubtless form a valuable addition to that kind of work of which I have now been endeavouring to trace the outlines. On this subject I have hitherto met with little more than brief and occasional hints, except in Mr. Whitaker's very amusing and instructive *Dissertation on our domestic architecture* (in his *History of Whalley*, p. 472). From this piece, and from the scattered notices which occur on the same subject in several other writers, we gather in general, that

The earliest houses or huts of the *ancient Britons* were formed of twigs or boughs of trees, and were made sufficiently large to contain a family and some portion of its cattle; they appear, at a later period, to have been built with fods, or with rough stones, and usually, I believe, without

without mortar (as was the case in the Duns, and even in some of the meaner cottages of Scotland to a very late period); the stone huts of the Britons were *conical*, of which *some* traces still remain in the smaller farm-houses of Wales; they consisted of but one room, and were without chimnies, the smoke passing through the roof.

The houses of the more wealthy Britons seem to have been somewhat improved during the time in which the Island was possessed by the *Romans*, and possibly some of the Anglo-Roman villas, of which we still find remains, were the seats of Britons of distinction; there is, however, little reason to suppose that any *great* or *general* change was introduced at this period into the humbler domestic buildings of the Britons, for the very clumsy and unsuccessful attempt which they made, at the departure of the Romans, to repair the wall of Severus, sufficiently proved them to have been, even at that time, exceedingly deficient in architectural skill.

The dwelling-houses of the *Saxons* appear to have been small, chiefly built with wood and clay, and thatched with rushes or straw; their cottages were merely single apartments without chambers.

After the *Norman* conquest the art of building rapidly improved in England; bricks and cut stones were gradually introduced; but a very large proportion of wood continued to be used even in the structure of the houses of the metropolis to a late period. The farm-houses of three or four centuries ago, were low, dark, and supported by crooks; it is scarcely necessary to add, that the use of clay, and of thatches of different kinds, is not even yet entirely abolished.

The residences of our forefathers were, however, of very different kinds; besides their ordinary houses and cottages,

ages, they had also their castlets or *peels*, their manor-houses, their halls, and their greater and less embattled mansions.

The *castlets* or *peels* were generally situated on the borders; they seem in some degree to have resembled the ancient British fortrefs, as they consisted of a single tower of several stories, contrived for the reception of cattle beneath and of a family above.

The unembattled *manor-house* surrounded a quadrangle, and was defended by a mote—this quadrangular form of building has been thought by some to have been borrowed by the Saxons from the Romans, and to have been afterwards copied by the Anglo-Normans in constructing the cloistered courts of monasteries, colleges, and hospitals, as well as the manor-houses abovementioned.

The ordinary *Hall* before the time of Elizabeth, was a very substantial building, resting upon crooks of the oldest form; it contained a lobby, a hall, with a parlour beyond it on one side, and offices on the other; the windows were apertures six inches wide, not originally intended for glass, the floors of clay, the chimnies wide and open; the apartments, one only excepted, low and narrow. In the Halls built of stone (after the time of Elizabeth) the original form of the more ancient ones was retained, but with great enlargement; on the right of the entrance was the hall, lighted by one great *range* window, and containing an immense fire place; at the lower end was a gallery, and beyond the hall a parlour, or sleeping room furnished with a massy oak bedstead.

The *embattled* houses of the time of Elizabeth and James. —“These,” says Mr. Whitaker, “were of two kinds, the one an improvement upon the rude quadrangle, the other an expansion of the ancient castlet, the one luminous and magnificent,

magnificent, with deep projecting bow-windows, the other lofty, square, and compact ; of such houses it is a known complaint of Lord Bacon, that one knows not where to become to be out of the sun." The first of these kinds of houses contained large halls and kitchens, with huge arched fire-places, chambers of state richly carved, and adorned with armorial bearings in wood, stone, or alabaster ; a gallery for music and dancing ; glass painted with armorial bearings. The furniture of these houses was very strong and heavy.

The building with stone began to prevail in the time of Elizabeth.

The sash-window and model of the square modern house was first introduced from Italy in the reign of Charles I.

M



ON SAXON LITERATURE.

WHILE the antiquities and compositions of the Celtic tribes are exciting considerable interest in the literary world, it cannot but be a subject both of surprise and regret that the language and productions of the Saxons should have almost ceased to attract our attention.

The obligations which we are under to this species of literature appear to be nearly forgotten, although we are indebted to it for a great and valuable portion of the history and antiquities of our nation; more knowledge might undoubtedly be yet gleaned from the same field; and were it necessary to enforce a prosecution of Saxon studies by the authority and example of distinguished men,

the names of Camden, of Spelman, and of Junius, might alone awaken us to more spirited exertions.

At the beginning of the period in which these eminent antiquaries flourished, the knowledge of the Saxon language was nearly extinct in England; they were, however, forcibly struck by the value of that language, and by the importance of the works which were composed in it; and the efforts which they so earnestly directed to the revival of Saxon literature * were rewarded by an extraordinary success.

The work which was thus happily begun, was soon after greatly promoted, as well by the patro-

* Spelman having himself experienced some difficulty in acquiring a skill in the Saxon tongue, determined, with a most judicious generosity, to establish a Saxon Professorship in the University of Cambridge; this chair was filled, with great advantage to the public, both by Wheelock and Somner; but the supply destined to its maintenance was sequestered, with the rest of the property of the Spelman family, in the course of the civil wars.

See Spelman's life prefixed to his works.

nage or labours of Laud, Usher, Selden, Somner and Hickes, as by the persevering exertions of the son of Spelman, on whom his father had bestowed the honourable title of "heir to his studies."

The fondness, however, for the Saxon tongue, which had thus been awakened and cherished in the English nation, abated with a rapidity that is much to be lamented, and little of importance has been added to our Saxon stores during the course of the eighteenth century, except the works of the Elftobs, of Wilkins, and of Lye.*

But while we have to regret, on the one hand, the languor with which that study is pursued of which I have just been speaking, we may, on the

* The Saxon period in the excellent work of Dr. Henry, parts of Mr. Strutt's compilations, and the respectable history of the Saxons by Turner, all published within a few years past, are certainly contributing to diffuse a knowledge of the customs, laws, &c. of the Saxons; but it is plain that these are not the kind of works to which I allude above.

other, derive much satisfaction and encouragement from considering the great number of unedited Saxon manuscripts which are to be found in many of our most celebrated libraries,* and of which it is yet to be hoped that a copious and judicious selection may at some future period be offered to the public; the skilful execution of a task like this would certainly redound highly to the literary honour of the nation, and could not but greatly tend to revive that laudable attention to Saxon

* It is impossible to attempt, in a work of this kind, even an imperfect enumeration of the Saxon compositions which are hitherto unedited; it might be enough to refer to the very copious catalogue of Saxon MSS. in the Cottonian Collection; but besides these, a variety of Saxon productions are also preserved in the Harleian Collection; in that of his Majesty; in the Bodleian, in Trinity, Emanuel, and Bene't Libraries, Cambridge, (the latter of which was particularly enriched by the gifts of Archbishop Parker,) and also in some few of the Libraries of our Cathedrals.

Catalogues of several of the collections abovementioned may be found in Wanley's Additions to Hickes' Thesaurus Ling. vet. Septentrion.

philology

philology and compositions which has been too long dormant.

I cannot but here observe, that it is certainly somewhat to be regretted, that the translations of those Saxon works which have hitherto been published are almost universally executed in the *Latin* tongue; for what good reason their contents should be thus veiled from the unlearned English reader, I confess I am at a loss to conceive; it can hardly be asserted with truth that these works ought rather to be dedicated to the use of the literary public of Europe, than to that of our own countrymen; surely the English are the people to whom they must be principally interesting, and whose curiosity respecting them has the first claim to indulgence.

An *English* translation then of the best unedited Saxon manuscripts would certainly be a desirable acquisition, and I am also inclined to believe, that even a re-translation into English, of such Saxon pieces as have been published with a *Latin* version only, is an object not unworthy of attention.—

History

History is a study to which the mere English reader is often very strongly and very properly attached, and a thorough knowledge of his own history (the most valuable to him of all) would doubtless be much promoted by some familiarity with the writings of the Saxons; I know no man who has any taste for historical pursuits that could fail of being gratified by a perusal of that curious and venerable *remain* the Saxon Chronicle.

For the same reasons, a translation of Bede and of such of the Saxon and other early writers in England as have *composed in Latin* would also be very desirable.*

A similar translation too of the poetry of the Saxons, or of some specimens of it at least, could not I think be totally uninteresting; no great por-

* Many amusing and instructive portions of English history might be extracted from the *Scriptores post Bedam*, and from Gale's larger collection of *Scriptores Rerum Anglicanarum*, &c.

tion of the original poetry itself has yet been given to the public, and in that portion which has appeared, little perhaps is contained that was peculiarly eminent in its time: of Cædmon, a poet of great celebrity, a few lines only have been preserved by Bede, and no published piece of Saxon poetry is superior on the whole to the Ode on Athelstan's victory, of which a most admirable translation may be seen in Ellis's Specimens.

I cannot, perhaps, better conclude these short hortatory remarks than by risking the addition of a nearly literal translation of the fragment of Cædmon, which I have mentioned above, and of a chapter in the Saxon Chronicle which gives a minute account of the foundation-charters of that famous monastery at Medeshamstead, which constitutes the site of the present Peterborough.

The former of these pieces was composed in the sixth century, and the latter, probably, but very little later than the seventh; for although the Saxon Chronicle includes the death of Stephen,

yet there is good reason for believing that it is the work of different persons, and that the events recorded in it were inserted very soon after the time in which they happened.

CÆDMON.

(From Hickee's Thesaurus, Vol. I. p. 87.)

Now we shall praise,
Directing ourselves to the kingdom of heaven,
The power of the Creator,
And thank his spirit.
The father, the glorious-worker,
Is wonderful.

Eternal Lord, first existing,
The original former
Of the sons of earth;
Of the vault of heaven
The holy builder.

This

This world
 The keeper of mankind,
 The eternal Lord, afterward doomed
 To fires—of the earth
 Ruler all-powerful.

Of the metre of Cædmon no accurate idea can be obtained except from the original, as his lines are not rimed, and as the harmony of them arises both from a species of rhythm, which it is difficult to imitate or even to ascertain, and also from the occasional introduction of alliteration, to which the Saxons were greatly attached. If we can credit the tradition that this Author was in the habit of composing in his sleep, his poetry will certainly create great astonishment.

CHAPTER FROM THE CHRONICON SAXONICUM,

(p. 41. An. 674.)

In his time (Æthelred's) then he sent Bishop Wilfrid to Rome to the Pope who then was; his name was Agatho; and the King told him, by writ and by word, how his brothers Peada and Wulfere, and the Abbot Saxulph, had built a minster (or monastery) called Medeshamstede, and that they had freed it, with the King and the Bishop, from all bondage, and exhorted him that he would confirm it by his writ, and by his blessing. And the Pope then sent his writ to England, thus saying "I, Agatho, Pope of Rome, greet well the worthy Æthelred the King of Mercia, and the Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, and Saxulph the Bishop of the Mercians, who before was Abbot, and all the Abbots who are in England. God's greeting and my blessing. I have heard the yearnings of King Æthelred, and of the Archbishop Theodore,

and

and of Bishop Saxulph, and of the Abbot Cuthbald, and I will that it should in all ways be as ye have spoken; and I have bidden in behalf of God, and of Saint Peter, and of all Saints, and of every holy head, that neither King, nor Bishop, nor Earl, nor any man, shall have any tribute, custom, toll, or fourthing, and that no man shall exact any kind of servitude from the Abbey of Medeshamstede; I also order that no Bishop of the shire should have the boldness to ordain or consecrate in this Abbacy, unless the Abbot should bid him; nor that he should exact either Bishop's fees, or Synodals, or any other kind of payment. And I will, that the Abbot be held as the Legate of Rome over all the island, and that any Abbot who is there chosen by the Monks shall be blessed (consecrated) by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and I will and ordain, that if any man have made a vow to go to Rome, and cannot perform it, either from sickness, or from the need of his master, or from any other business, be he of England or of any other island, let him come to the Minister of Medeshamstede, and let him have such forgiveness

forgiveness from Christ and Saint Peter, and the Abbots, and the Monks, as he should have if he went to Rome. And now I bid thee, brother Theodore, that thou permittest a synod to be called through all England, and that this writ be read and obeyed. Also I say to thee, Bishop Saxulph, that as thou hast yearned that the minster be free, so I have forbidden thee, and all the Bishops who come after thee, (sent) by Christ and all his saints, that none of ye shall have any tribute from the minster but as much as the Abbot chuseth. Now I will say, in a word, that whosoever abideth by this writ and this ordinance, he shall ever dwell with God Almighty in the Kingdom of Heaven, and whosoever breaketh it, he shall be excommunicated, and condemned with Judas and with all the devils in hell, unless he shall repent. Amen." This writ Pope Agatho, and an hundred and twenty-five Bishops, sent into England by Wilfrid, Archbishop of York. This was done in the 680th year after the nativity of our Lord, and in the 6th year of King Æthelred. Then the King desired Archbishop Theodore to appoint

appoint a witenagemot at a place called Heatfelde; when they were there gathered together, he permitted the letter to be read which the Pope had sent, and all ordained and confirmed it; then said the King “ All that my brother Peada and my brother Wulfere, and my sisters Cineburgh and Kynesuith, gave and confirmed to Saint Peter and the Abbot, that will I have to stand good: and I will in my day also increase it for the sake of their souls and of my soul. Now I give to day to Saint Peter, for his Minster of Medeshamstede, these lands and all that thereto belongs, that is Bredune, Cedenac, &c.* These lands I give to Saint Peter, as freely as I myself held them, and so that none of my successors shall take therefrom any part: but if any one do so, may he have the curse of the Pope of Rome, and of all Bishops, and of all

* As most of the places mentioned in the original are not now known, or distinguished by some other name, it is enough to mention that among them appear to have been Brecon, in Worcester, Swineshead, in Huntingdon, and Cosford, and Stratford on Avon, in Warwickshire.

who

who are here witnesses; and this I confirm with the sign of Christ. ✕. I, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, am witness to this Charter of Medeshamstede, and I confirm it with my hand, and I excommunicate all who take any thing from it, and I bless all those who abide by it. ✕. I, Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, am witness to this Charter, and confirm the same curse. ✕. Amen.*

* It is also signed, with similar denunciations, by Saxulph, Ostritha, and by the Bishops of London and Rochester, with Cuthbald the Abbot.



TABLE AND EXPLANATION
OF THE
SAXON NAMES OF MONTHS.

WOLFMONATH*—Giuli aftera,† January.
Sproutkele,‡ Solmonath,§ February.
Lenctmonath,*

* I scarcely need to observe that "monath" is the Saxon word for "month," and that "wolfmonath" was so named from its being the most favourable season for hunting that animal.

† "Guili (or Giuli) aftera," means, the second Giul, or the second Christmas, and is derived, according to Hickes, from "iol or ol," "ale" this word still occurs for Christmas, in "yiul-cake," "yiul-block," &c.

‡ "Kele" is a species of cabbage still well known by that name.

§ "Solmonath" is explained by Bede "mensis placen-
tarum;".

Lendmonath,*	Rhedmonath†,	Hlydmo-	
nath,‡	-	-	March.
Ofter or Eaftermonath.§	-	-	April.
Trimilki,	Seremonath,**	Unnemonath,††	May.

tarum"; and Spelman, in an *unedited manuscript*, renders it "*pan-cake month*": it was thus called because in the course of it, cakes were offered by the pagan Saxons to the sun; and "sol" or "soul" signifies "food" or "cakes."

* "Lent," or Lent, means "Spring."

† This word is derived by some, from a Saxon deity named Rheda, to whom sacrifices were offered in March; by others it is derived from the Saxon "ræd" council, March being the month in which wars or expeditions were generally undertaken by the Gothic tribes.

‡ "Hlyd" means "stormy."

§ In this month the feast of the Saxon goddess Eastre, Eastor, or Eoster, is said to have been celebrated. Spelman observes on it "Impium et indignum, sacrosanctam Christianorum festivitatem turpissima fœdavi Gentilium appellatione; sunt tamen qui resurrectionem interpretantur et inde *Cæsarna*, Teutonice, nancupant, juxta quod in antiqua Bedæ editione *Cæser* legitur, non *Eoster*."

|| "Trimilki" implies milking three times in the day.

** "Sere" is still used to express day.

†† "Unne" is the Saxon word for joy.

Weydmonath,*

Weydmonath,* Medemonath, Midfumor-
 monath, Braeckmonath,† according to
 some, Woodmonath,‡ Lida erra, §- June.
 Henmonath,|| heymonath,** Lida aftera,†† July.
 Trilidi embolifmus.‡‡

Armmonath,*

* "Weyd" is probably from "Weyden" (German) to go about, as if to pasture.

† "Braeckmonath" is thought to be so named from the breaking up of the soil from * bræcan" Sax. to break.

‡ "Wood" means "weed."

§ I can find no satisfactory account of the word "Lida;" Lida or Lida signifies in the Icelandic tongue "to move, or pass over," (Gloss. to Snæmundar Edda), and I am in some degree supported by Bede's remarks on this month in conjecturing that Lida implies the sun's passing its greatest height, and that "Lida erra" consequently means the first month of the sun's descent: "Lida" is by some deemed the same as set-ast or smooth-air.

|| "Hen" has probably the meaning of "hain" (German), that is, wood or trees, Henmonth then may be rendered foliage-month.

** "Hey" means "hay."

†† The second "Lida" or second month of the sun's descent.

‡‡ This is an inserted month to make up the thirteen lunar months of which the Saxon year was formerly composed;

Arnmonath,* Barnmonath, Harvestmonath,
 according to some, Woedmonath,† August.
 Gerstmonath,‡ Haligemonath,§ September.
 Wynmonath,|| Winterfulleth, - October.
 Wintmonath,** Blotmonath,†† - November.
 Wintermonath or Midwintermonath,
 Giul erra,‡‡ - - - December.
A very

posed; it may be explained the third month of the sun's descent.

* "Arn" is the Saxon word for harvest.

† "Wood" has been explained above.

‡ "Gerst" means "barley."

§ "Haligemonath" may be rendered "holy-month;" it appears from a Saxon menology (in Wanley's additions to Hickes) that this month was named holy from the annual celebration of a pagan festival in it; the menology, which I translate *literally*, says thus "Haligemonath—for that our forefathers, the while they heathens were, on this month celebrated their devil-gild."

|| "Wyn" means "wine."

** "Wint" is the Saxon word for wind.

†† "Blot" means "blood"—in this month cattle were killed in great abundance by the Saxons for winter store, or according to some as sacrifices.

‡‡ "Giul erra" means the former or first Giul; the feast
of

A very curious emblematical representation of the Saxon months is still, I believe, to be seen on an ancient font in the parish church of Burnham Deepdale, in Norfolk; they are very rudely sculptured, but the employments of most of the figures that are introduced may be detected with sufficient certainty. As these employments throw some light upon the subject of which I have just been treating, I shall briefly notice them. Giul aftera is designated by a man drinking out of a horn; Solmonath is represented by a person apparently sitting at the door of his house; Lencrmonath is distinguished by a man digging; Eastermonath by a man employed in pruning; Seremonath *seems* to be marked by a person occupied in trimming a vine; Woedmonath is represented by a weeder; Heymonath by a mower; Arnmonath by a reaper;

of Thor, which was celebrated in the mother-night (i. e. at the winter solstice) was thus called, and possibly, as before observed, from iol or ol. This feast seems to have been continued through a part of January. (see notes above.)

Gerstmonath

Gerstmonath by a thresher; Wyttmonath is distinguished by a person apparently pouring wine from a bottle into a cup or funnel; Blotmonath is represented by a man killing a hog; and Giul esta by a company feasting.*

In a series of painted windows which ornament the *Town-hall of Leicester*, two still remain,

* A farther account of this very curious font may be found in the *Archæologia*, vol. X. p. 177. The author of that account contends that the font is an early Norman, and not a Saxon work; but as the employments of the figures on its sides correspond so exactly, in most instances, with the names of the Saxon months, I cannot hesitate to believe that it is at least the work of a Saxon artist. An engraving of it was made in 1791 by the Rev. H. Crowe, jun., and the learned friend, to whom I am indebted for a copy of that print, informed me that he had detected on the pavement of the chapel of the Holy Trinity (in Canterbury cathedral), several emblematical figures, of which no explanation had been hitherto given, and which strongly resembled those on the font at Depdale in design and workmanship.

though

though considerably damaged, on which the months of *June* and *September* are emblematically designed, and in a manner nearly resembling the sculptured representation of those months on the font at Depdale. The windows of which I am speaking are thus described by Mr. Nichols:*

“In the first light, at the entrance, is the figure of a thresher, and two sheaves of corn, and over it “September.”—“In the seventh light, a man in a cap, bare leg and thigh, stockings down to the ankles; has a belt from which hangs another; behind him a building with turrets, before him a wooden fork holds a stump of a branch upwards, while a hook-like stick head pulls down a ragged leaf like a holly.” Over this figure, which I conceive to represent a *weeder*, is inscribed “June.”

* History of Leicestershire, Vol. II. 2d part, p. 354.

The date of these paintings is not decidedly ascertained; doubtless the series of months was originally complete, but the rest of them are destroyed, or were probably removed to make room for the armorial bearings with which the remainder of the windows are at present decorated.



TRANSLATION FROM EADMER.

THE manner in which the celebrated Anselm exercised his power as Archbishop of Canterbury is very generally known; the following particulars of his promotion to that dignity may not be an unamusing specimen of a very ancient historical composition of the Norman School.*

The see of Canterbury had been vacant about four years after the death of Lanfranc when Anselm
was

* The *Historia Novorum* (Selden's Edition), p. 16, &c. Eadmer, the writer of this work, was a monk of Canterbury,

was called to succeed him by the united voice of the people—Anselm trembled and turned pale at the sound; and when he was carried by force to the king, that he might receive from his hands the pastoral staff of investiture, he very strongly resisted, and urged that many reasons prevented his accepting the honour that was offered him. The Bishops, therefore, drew him aside from the multitude and thus addressed him; “what is it you are doing? what is it you have in view? you cannot but see that christianity has almost perished in England, that every thing is in confusion, that all kinds of abominations have arisen, that we ourselves, as well as the churches of God, which are under our direction, are in danger of eternal destruction, and you, who might assist us, only despise us; whence is this astonishing conduct? whither are your senses fled? the Church of Canterbury, in the oppression

bury, and professes to give in it an account of transactions in which he was himself engaged, or of which he was at least a spectator, from the time of the Norman Conquest, to the twenty-second year of the reign of Henry I.

of

of which we are all oppressed and destroyed, calls upon you aloud, and anxiously seeks you as her preserver and as ours; but you, heedless of her liberties, heedless of our comfort, disdain to assist your brethren in their labours, and are devoted only to your own repose." To this Anselm replied, "bear with me, I beseech you, bear with me, and attend; I admit that there are many grievances which require a remedy, but consider, I implore you, that I am far advanced in years, and little capable of bearing any earthly labour; how then can I, who am unable to exert myself in my own behalf, how can I undertake the charge of the whole English church? Besides, as my conscience can well testify, from the time in which I became a monk I have shunned all secular concerns, nor can I ever attend to them with good will, for I can discover nothing in them which is capable of creating in me any interest or delight; therefore permit me to be at rest, and do not involve me in business which I dislike, lest it should on that account be unprosperous: but do thou," continued he, "accept the primacy without hesitation

tion, go thou before in the way of the Lord, teaching us our duty, and behold, we give thee our promise that we will not be slack in obeying thy commands: do thou dedicate thyself to God for our sakes, and we will manage thy secular concerns for thee: what you require of me is impossible, I am abbot of a monastery in another kingdom, having an archbishop to whom I owe obedience, a prince to whom I owe subjection, and monks to whom I owe the ministrations of counsel and assistance; to all these I am so strictly bound that I cannot desert my monks without their permission, I cannot shake off the dominion of my prince without his acquiescence, nor can I refuse obedience to my primate, without his absolution, except at the peril of my soul." "All this," say they, "is of no importance, they will all consent." "It cannot be" says Anselm, "your wishes cannot be gratified." They then hurry him away to the King who lay dangerously ill, and relate the obstinacy of Anselm: the King, with a sorrow which almost brought tears into his eyes, said to him, "O Anselm, what is it you do? How can you thus con-
sign

sign me to eternal torments? Remember, I implore you, the faithful friendship which my father and mother ever entertained for you, and you for them; by this I conjure you to suffer not the body and soul of their son to perish together; I shall be utterly lost if I finish my days while I still hold the primacy in my own hands; aid me then, aid me, my Lord and father, and assume that dignity on account of which I am so grievously afflicted, and fear to be still more afflicted in eternity." The words of the king produced a great effect on those who were near him, and they thus warmly inveighed against Anselm, who still excused himself, and was still unwilling to take upon himself so heavy a load, "what madness has occupied your mind? you afflict the king, you afflict him to death, you do not scruple to distress him even in his dying moments; know then that every annoyance, every oppression, every crime, which may hereafter afflict England, will be imputed to you, unless you this day avert them by receiving the pastoral care of the church." In

these difficulties Anselm, turning to two monks who were near him, exclaimed "Ah, my brethren, why do you not assist me?" These words he uttered with such anguish of mind, that, as he was wont to declare, if the option had then been given him, he would rather, with the permission of God, have died on the spot than have been exalted to the Archiepiscopal throne. Baldwin answered him, "If it be the will of God that it should be thus, what are we who oppose the will of God?" This speech was followed by tears and by gushes of blood from his nose, which shewed to all present with what regret of heart these words were uttered. Anselm, having heard the answer, cries out "Alas! how soon is thy staff broken!" The king then perceiving that the labour of all was ineffectual, directed that every one should fall at the feet of Anselm, to endeavour in that manner to extort his consent. But what happened? While they were falling down before him, he himself falls down before the king, nor could he in any wise be moved from his first determination:

termination: but the spectators being at length provoked, both by Anselm himself, and by their own inactivity in permitting such delay by listening to his refusals, called aloud "the pastoral staff! the pastoral staff!" and having seized his right arm, some began to draw him forward while he was struggling against them, others forced him along from behind, and they brought him at last close to the bed where the king lay sick. When the king offered him the pastoral staff, he closed his hand, and steadily refused to receive it; the bishops endeavoured to force open his fingers, which were closely bent in his palm, that the staff might then be placed in his hand; but when they found, after some trial, that the attempt was vain, being only able to raise his forefinger which he soon bent back, and when they heard him utter some complaint from the tearing of his flesh, they at length rested the staff on his closed hand, and it was there supported by the hands of the bishops. The multitude then shouting "long live the bishop!" the clergy began to sing the Te Deum,

with a loud voice, and they dragged, rather than conducted, Anselm to a neighbouring church; he still however resisted, calling out "what ye do is of no avail;" after the usual ceremonies were performed, Anselm returned to the king.—These things were transacted in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1093.



THE

LIFE OF EDGAR ATHELING.

THE materials for a life of Edgar Atheling are very thinly scattered in the histories of our country; but as he is a person whose character, pretensions, and disappointments have excited much interest in the English nation, I have imagined that the collection and orderly arrangement of even the few particulars which I could discover respecting him, might not be unfavourably received.

EDGAR

EDGAR ATHELING, or Edgar Clito, as he is sometimes styled, was born in Hungary* about the year one thousand and forty; his father, Edward the Outlaw, was the son of Edmund Ironside, the paternal brother of the Confessor;† at the decease of this prince, who died without lawful issue, the right to the crown of England clearly devolved to Edgar, the sole surviving male of the

* Polydori Vergilii Anglic. Hist. Lib. viii. p. 188, S. Dunelm.

† Eadmeri Hist. Nov. Lib. i. p. 56. Polydori Vergilii Lib. viii. and Milton's History of England, Book 6.

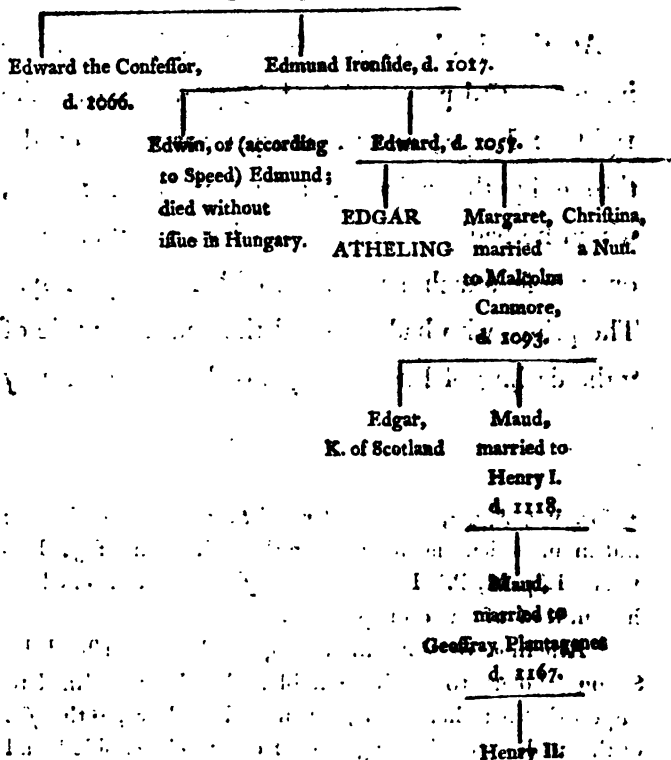
Edmund Ironside left two infant sons, Edwin and Edward. By order of Canute they were conveyed out of England in 1017. At length they found an asylum in Hungary. Edwin died there. Edward was recalled by Edward the Confessor, in 1057. He only lived to see the land of his nativity from which he had been exiled during 40 years. The children of Edward were Edgar, Margaret, and Christian.

Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, p. 6.

family of Ethelred;* and his pretensions indeed seem

* The pedigree of the family is as follows :

Ethelred, King of England, d. 1016.



The armorial bearing of Edgar Atheling is usually deemed to have been nearly the same as that of the Confessor,

seem to have been previously acknowledged by his receiving the title of Atheling,* which, in the time of the Saxons, usually distinguished the heir apparent to the kingdom.

At the death of the Confessor, however, the influence and power of Harold prevailed over the rights of Edgar, and the usurper was seated on the throne by the voice of an assembly of nobles, whom he had probably collected with caution, and on whose attachment he could securely rely.† The prince who had obtained the endearing title of “the darling of England,”‡ was thus ungenerously

feffor, viz. *Azure, a cross patonce between four martlets or :* but in an ancient manuscript (in the collection of J. Paterson, Esq. M. P.) I find the *cross formee* is attributed to him instead of the cross patonce.

* Atheling, or Ætheling, is generally understood by Saxon scholars to signify “noble,” but I am inclined to suspect that it rather means, when used as above, “the son of the noble” (or the king’s son) from *athel*, “noble,” and “*ing*” the termination of the Saxon patronymics.

† Milton’s History of England, Book 6. p. 117.

‡ Rapin, vol. 1. p. 168.

neglected

neglected by his people, and acquiescing without a struggle, in the unjust decision of the nobility, he appeared to have beenfoothed, if not satisfied, with the honour of the Earldom of Oxford, which was immediately conferred upon him by his courteous and successful rival.*

Although the wealth and consequence of the Godwyn family, of whom Harold was now the chief, had long been increasing in England under a series of preceding monarchs, yet we cannot but observe with some astonishment the height to which it was at length exalted. In the succession of the Saxon kings, the right of primogeniture had not indeed been strictly adhered to in every case,† and we find even at a much later period of English history, that the approving voice of the representatives of the nation was deemed a desire-

* Stowe's Chronicle, p. 98.—MS. in Corporation Library, Norwich.

† Alfred, for instance, succeeded to the prejudice of his nephews. Speed's Chronicle, 328.

able, though not a necessary sanction, to the assumers of the throne ;* yet till now the succession to the crown of England, whether resting upon inherent right, or influenced by the will of the nobles, had been uniformly confined to some branch of the family by which the throne had been previously possessed. The riches and the rank of Harold, then, scarcely seem alone sufficient to account for his irregular exaltation ; the absurd pretensions which he made to the crown, as the gift of the dying Edward,† must have operated still less powerfully in his favour ; but it may not be unreasonably presumed, that the youth, the inexperience, the foreign education,‡ and above all, the strange inactivity of Edgar at this important crisis, were each unfavourable to his cause, and that the nation, who might well foresee the approaching at-

* As in the cases of Henry IV. and Richard III.

† Speed, p. 463.

‡ Polydori Virgilii, Lib. viii.

Edgar, at this time, was barely able to speak the English language. Speed, p. 400.

tack of the Norman Duke, were not ill pleased with the exchange of such a leader as Edgar for the skilful, daring, and indefatigable Harold.

The power of Harold, in whatever way it was obtained, speedily fell before the arms of William; and there was little reason to expect that the claims of Edgar, which had been before disregarded, should meet with any efficacious support against the energy of the victorious invader.

These claims however were now brought forward to notice by the very persons who had lately so keenly opposed them; Edwin and Morcar, the brethren of the Queen, dreading no doubt the resentment of the Conqueror, and still hoping to retain, and perhaps to increase, their influence, through the gratitude or weakness of Edgar, hastily assembled their vassals and prepared to assert and to defend his rights;* many of the English nobility,

*Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. 111, p. 1.

the citizens of London, and the naval forces of the realm, readily joined the confederacy; and Aldred, the Archbishop of York, whose concurrence was deemed of great importance, enlisted with alacrity under the banners of Edgar; but the superstitious opinions of the age soon operated more powerfully upon the mind of the prelate than his honour or his patriotism; and dreading to oppose the man who fought under the protection of the spiritual father of Christendom, he meanly deserted his party, and set an example of fear and of baseness which was so rapidly followed by the rest of the followers of Edgar, that in a very short time the whole of these haughty chieftains, together with the prince himself, were content to yield their allegiance to William.*

Edgar,

*Speed's Chronicle, p. 420. Ann. 1066. Milton's History of England, Book 6, p. 120.

Edgar and the nobles swore fealty to William, at Beorcham or Berkhamstead. Hoveden, p. 450.

It has been asserted that, during the period of which I have now been speaking, Edgar had assumed the title of King,

Edgar, although treated with great respect and generosity by the Conqueror,* appears to have been much mortified by his degradation. The oppression of the Normans soon provoked the English to violence, and the Atheling was again invited by the restless and powerful Earls of Chester and of York, to place himself at the head of the malcontents; he acceded to their wishes; but the attempt of his followers was defeated by the vigilance of William, and he was obliged to consult his safety by flight.†

King, and had exercised a royal power in some ecclesiastical regulations; but of these assertions I am unable to find any decided proofs. I know not in what ecclesiastical affairs Edgar interfered, unless his interview with Brand, Abbot of Bury, (who came to seek redress from him soon after William had entered England) can be construed into something of the kind. See *Chron. Saxon*, p. 173.

* Rapin, vol. 1. p. 168, notes. According to William of Malmshury, p. 103, Edgar received a daily stipend of a pound of silver, and Baker in his *Chronicle*, (p. 27) adds that "he had other large livings beside."

† Speed's *Chronicle*, p. 422. Anno. 1067.

Edgar

Edgar then, accompanied by Merleswegen and many other followers, and taking with him his mother Agatha* and his sisters Christina and Margaret, embarked for Hungary, the place of his nativity;† but contrary winds drove them on the coast of Scotland,‡ and they there found an asylum in the court of Malcolm Canmore. This generous and spirited prince not only received the fugitives with the most liberal hospitality, but heard with disdain the threats which were employed by William to extort the surrender of Edgar.§

The

* Said by some to have been the daughter of Solyman, King of Hungary. Papebroch. vit St. Marg. 325.

† Matthew Paris, p. 4. Holinshed, vol. 111. p. 6.

‡ They anchored, according to Fordun, in the Sinus Margarete, (now S. Margaret's Hoop.)

§ Chronic. Saxon, p. 173. Anno 1067. Speed as above, Anno 1067. Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, p. 7.

Malcolm Canmore was the son of that Duncan who was assassinated by Macbeth, (Chron. de Mailros, 156, and Fordun); he espoused Margaret, the sister of Edgar, soon after her arrival in Scotland; Maud, his third daughter by this lady, was married to Henry I. of England; the fruit of this marriage was Maud, the mother of Henry II. in whom

The Atheling did not long remain inactive in the North, but hastened to encourage by his presence a revolt which had been excited in Northumberland.* A force under Cumins and Robert was immediately sent by William to oppose the insurgents, but the followers of Edgar surprised these commanders at Durham, and of the seven hundred Normans, of which their small army was composed, one only escaped with his life.† William exceedingly exasperated by this disaster, immediately marched, although in the depth of winter, into the revolted country, and quickly succeeded in reducing it to obedience; many of the leaders of the insurrection fell into his hands, and were con-

whom the Saxon blood-royal was again restored to the English throne.

Ædmer and Rapin.

S. Dunelm erroneously fixes the flight of Edgar into Scotland, in 1068.

According to the Chronic. de Mailros, (p. 156 and 165, Gale.) Margaret was betrothed to Malcolm in 1067, but was not married to him till 1070.

* Holinshed, vol. 111. p. 6.

† January 28, 1068.

S

demned

demned to death, but Edgar was fortunate enough to effect his escape to Scotland.*

He was soon however drawn from his retreat again; the English fugitives in Norway had prevailed upon Swain to invade their country; and nearly three hundred vessels, containing a formidable force, had arrived safely in the Humber; Canute and Harold, the sons of Swain, were entrusted with the command of the expedition, and to these princes Edgar, with Waltheof, Marlesweegen, and other of his followers, immediately joined themselves;† the progress of the Danes was rapid; York yielded to their arms; and the Norman garrison, in deserting it, having fired its suburbs, the flames extended to the city and con-

* Speed, p. 422. Anno. 1068.

The Robert, mentioned by Speed, appears to be the same person as *Rodbert*, whom the Saxon Chronicle (p. 174.) states to have been the newly appointed *Norman* Earl of Northumbria in the time of the abovementioned revolt.

† Henry of Huntindon, p. 369.

gained a considerable portion of it.* The Danes kept possession of the district which they had conquered during the following winter; but William, as soon as the season permitted, attacked them with a formidable power and completely routed them; Harold, Canute, and the remains of their army fled to their ships, and Edgar Atheling again found safety in Scotland.†

The conqueror, having cruelly desolated the country which he had thus recovered,‡ retired with his victorious army to the South.

It is not easy to account for the supineness with which the greater part of the English appear to

* Speed, p. 423. Anno 1068. According to S. Dunelm, the Danes arrived about the 11th of September, and took York on the 22d of October.

The Church of St. Peter, and a valuable library annexed to it, were entirely destroyed. Stowe's Chronicle, p. 111.

† Speed, p. 423. Anno 1069. Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 7.

‡ The famine occasioned by the devastation of this district, was so excessive, that the inhabitants are said to have eaten human flesh.

have viewed the struggle which thus terminated so unfortunately to Edgar ;* irritated by the rapacity of the Normans, encouraged by the example of their prince, and allured as well by the success of the Danish succours, as by the promises of the King of Scotland,† the mass of the nation still remained inactive,

* We learn indeed from one writer, (S. Dunelm) that the Northumbrians, under Gospatric, had joined the Danes, but were soon detached from the confederacy.

† "It undoubtedly had been concerted" says Dalrymple, (p. 9.) "that the King of Scotland should march into England and co-operate with the invasion, but some unforeseen accident retarded his motions ; at length, when it was too late, he led a numerous army through the western borders by Cumberland. He wasted Teesdale, routed the English who opposed him at Hunderdeskelde, penetrated into Cleveland, and from thence into the eastern parts of the Bishopric of Durham, spreading universal desolation. Not even the edifices sacred to religion were spared ; they who fled into churches for refuge were burnt in their imagined sanctuary. Malcolm from an eminence beheld this scene of horror. He received tidings that his own territories in Cumberland were laid waste by the false Gospatric. Enraged at a mode of war resembling his own, he ordered his soldiers to slay without distinction of age or sex ; but he seemed to mitigate their severity by commanding all the young

inactive, and the most tempting prospect of success failed to provoke in them any effort to recover their fame or their liberty; possibly however the very source of their hope at this period might have had some tendency to check their exertions, and the ideas of desolation, of cruelty, and of infelice which they had so strongly and so justly associated even with the name of a Dane, might not unreasonably have induced them to dread the accidental restoration of the power and influence of that nation as the most deplorable misfortune which could befall their country.

Edgar, after remaining in Scotland about four years, seems at length to have despaired of making any impression on his adversary, and having past

young men and maidens to be driven captive into Scotland. So great was the number of captives, says an English Historian, that for many years they were to be found in every Scottish village, nay even in every Scottish hovel."

I cannot but suspect that this dreadful account, which rests solely on the authority of S. Dunelm, is much exaggerated.

into

into Normandy, he there fought and obtained a reconciliation with William.*

From this period a long silence respecting the fate of Edgar, is preserved by the Annalists of England; but we learn that about a year before the death of the Conqueror our unfortunate prince had been greatly irritated by the treatment which he received from him;† his discontent does not appear

* Chronic. Sax. p. 182. Stowe, p. 114. Anno. 1073.

† Chronic. Sax. p. 187. Anno 1085.

The suspicion, which is expressed by an anonymous writer, that the indignation of Edgar arose from his being deprived of his possessions in Normandy, is in some degree countenanced by the following passage from the *Annales Waverleienfes*, (p. 133.)

“Anno regis Willielmi XX. rex tenuit Curiam suam apud Wintoniam, postea ad Kalendas Augusti fuit apud Salisburiam, ibique venerunt coram eo Barones sui et omnes terrarii hujus regni, qui alicujus prelli erant, cujus-
cunque fædi fuissent, et omnes homines sui effecti sunt, et juraverunt illi fidelitatem contra omnes homines. Postea rex, adquisitis magnis thesauris ab hominibus suis, supra equos aliquam causam invenire porterat sive juste sive injuste, deinde ivit in Wicht, and sic in *Normanniam*, et *Edgar Atheling*

appear however to have discovered itself by any act of violence, but having obtained the permission of William, he passed over into Apulia,* accompanied by two hundred followers in arms: what other views he might have entertained in this excursion, besides that of removing himself from a situation which was now become intolerable to him, are not very easy to be ascertained: he might possibly have been prompted to it by the desire of uniting his fortunes with those of the revolted Normans who had quitted their country after their defeat by Duke William, and who had soon after made themselves masters of that province which Edgar now chose for an asylum.†

Atheling cognatus regis Edwardi recessit a rege quia non erat cum eo honorifice sed Dominus omnipotens dei illi honorum."

The warm affection displayed towards Edgar by the composer of this passage, who was probably a Saxon, is peculiarly striking.

* Stowe, p. 141. Annals 1086. Holmsted, vol. III. p. 14.

† Sir William Temple's Introduction to the History of England, p. 95.

About the time at which Edgar departed for Apulia, his sister Christina entered as a nun into the monastery of Ramsey.

Stowe, as above.

The

The length of his residence in Apulia could not have exceeded four or five years, for, early in the reign of Rufus, we find our amiable prince engaged in the friendly office of reconciling that monarch to Malcolm of Scotland;* Rufus had previously cherished a dislike to Edgar, and had lately banished him from Normandy; but his conduct on this occasion, seconded by the kind interference of Robert, the brother of Rufus, regained to him the regard of the King.†

The proof which was afterwards exhibited by Rufus of the warmth of that regard was surely somewhat extraordinary. At the decease of Malcolm Canmore, Edgar, his fourth,‡ but eldest surviving son, was unjustly excluded from the succession, and a civil war was excited in Scotland, by

* *Annales Waverleienfes*, (in *Hist. Ang. Script.* v. vol. 11.) p. 137.

† Stowe, p. 130. *Holinshed*, vol. 111. p. 18, Anno 1091.

‡ *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. 1. p. 260, Anno 1097.

the jarring pretensions of Donald and of Duncan to the crown of that kingdom; the former of these was the brother, and the latter the illegitimate son of Malcolm Canmore; while Donald was in possession of the throne he banished the English from his dominions, and Edgar Atheling, who seems to have accompanied Malcolm into Scotland after his reconciliation with Rufus, immediately fled. Together with his nephews, whom he had kindly taken under his protection, he sought the Court of England,* and by his representations and entreaties, he greatly disposed the King to interfere both justly and effectually in the affairs of Scotland. After the most liberal offers had been vainly made to Donald to induce him to resign his usurped sovereignty, an army was at length raised by the orders of Rufus, and the command of it was very generously entrusted to Edgar Atheling: with this force, and accompanied by his nephew,

* Hovedon, p. 465, Rapin, vol. 1, p. 186.

he immediately marched into Scotland; the holy standard of St. Cuthbert was displayed in his ranks,* and excited in the enemy a superstitious dread which greatly contributed to his success; the numerous army, which was opposed to him by

* "At his coming to Durham he was admonished by a vision in his sleepe, that if he tooke with him the banner of St. Cuthbert he should have victorie. On the morrow after he came from the Abbey Church, where first hearing divine service, when the same was ended, he displayed the foresaid baner, and caused it to be borne before him in that journey." Holinshed, vol. 11. p. 260.

Cuthbert was a monk and saint of great celebrity in the North of Britain. He was born about the year 600, was educated by the Scottish monks in the famous abbey of Iligii (or I'colmkill), and he thence past into Northumberland, by the invitation of King Egfred, with a view of converting the Saxons of that district. He finally settled, and founded a monastery, in Lindisfarne (or Holy Island). The banner which he consecrated, probably that of the King his patron, may be reasonably supposed to have been preserved in Cuthbert's monastery, and to have been thence removed to the Church of Durham when the episcopal See was transferred from Holy Island to that city in the year 994. See Vit. Sanct. and Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV.

Donald,

Donald, was speedily routed; the usurper himself was taken prisoner, and the younger Edgar was firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors.*

It may reasonably be conjectured, that it was nearly at this period that Edgar formed the close connection with Robert of Normandy,† the eldest son of the conqueror, which induced him soon after to accompany that prince in his expedition to the Holy Land.‡ For this undertaking he was

* Holinshed as above. *Annales Waverleienfes* p. 141. S. Dunelm. 233. Fordun. v. 26, 28.

Edgar was the first King of Scotland who was anointed, & for his mother Queen Margaret says Holinshed "purchased a little before her death of Urban the Pope that from henceforthe all the Kings of Scotland should be anoynted."

† The beginning of this intimacy may perhaps be traced back to a year or two previous to this time, as appears from Robert's intercession for Edgar abovementioned.

‡ Andrew's Chronological History of Great Britain.

His companion is said by Malmſbury to have been Robert the son of Godwyn; but this appears to be a mistake; possibly, however, such a person might have been in his train.

splendidly equipped by the liberality of the King;* he joined the crusaders at the period in which Baldwin was besieged in Ramla;† and his conduct in Palestine, of which, however, I can discover no particulars, is said to have gained him the esteem of his commanders.‡

In the beginning of the reign of Henry I. Edgar again attracts our notice as the fellow-soldier of Robert, in the war which he waged in Normandy against the king of England; in this short contest Henry proved victorious, and Robert, together with his friend, were obliged to yield themselves prisoners at the battle of Tenerchebray; Robert was cruelly confined for life in the castle of Cardiff, but Edgar was permitted to depart unpunished.§

* Sir William Temple's Introduction to English History. p. 225.

† William of Malmesbury, p. 103.

‡ Temple as above.

§ Speed p. 455. Annales Waverleieneses p. 244.

Of this permission he immediately took advantage, and returned to England, and the rest of his life appears to have been past in repose, and probably in obscurity, as we find no other particulars recorded of him but that he again visited Scotland at a very advanced period of life, and died, in that kingdom,* in the year eleven hundred and twenty.†

The character of Edgar cannot, perhaps, be very accurately collected from the scanty materials of his biography; it seems not, however, to have been distinguished either by very striking excellencies or very glaring defects; the prepossessing title which he once obtained of the "darling of England," appears to have been rather conferred on him from a national partiality to his race, than as the just tribute to his own desert; rather from

* The Spelman MSS. in the possession of J. Pattenon, Esq. M. P.

† Bryant's Genealogical Table.

any expectation of what he might be, than from any thing that he actually was. His courage was undoubtedly more prominent than his intellect; but although he might not be eminent, he certainly was not deficient in understanding;* the purity of his honour, although otherwise apparently unimpaired, must be confessed to have been in some degree stained by his appearing more than once in arms against William, to whom he had taken, though doubtless with reluctance, an oath of allegiance; from the warm attachment which Edgar discovered to Robert, as well as from several traits

* The gross imbecility of intellect which is so hastily imputed by Dalrymple to Edgar, is by no means to be inferred from his general conduct, and much less from the contemptuous expressions respecting him which have been used by Malmfbury; and the story, extracted from that writer by Dalrymple, of Edgar's giving up his pension for a horse is sufficiently explained by the passage, which this author has himself quoted from the compiler of the index to Malmfbury, from which we gather that the pension spoken of was the pension of one day only, a high price for a horse, as it should appear, at that time. See Dalrymple's Annals, p. 7, 8, and 18. and William of Malmfbury, p. 103.

recorded above, we may not unreasonably conclude that in his disposition and sentiments he bore much resemblance to that liberal and affectionate, but careless, impetuous and capricious prince; and on the whole it is not very easy to determine whether the clemency of three successive kings, to whom Edgar was indebted for his life, arose most from the respect, the compassion, or the contempt, with which they viewed him.

1. The first of these is the fact that the
2. of the system is not a simple one, but
3. a complex one, involving many factors
4. which are not yet fully understood.
5. The second is the fact that the
6. of the system is not a simple one, but
7. a complex one, involving many factors
8. which are not yet fully understood.
9. The third is the fact that the
10. of the system is not a simple one, but
11. a complex one, involving many factors
12. which are not yet fully understood.

THE

LIFE OF EDMUND MORTIMER.

ABOUT the period in which the houses of York and Lancaster were preparing to determine by the sword their respective pretensions to the crown of England, the lawful heir of that kingdom expired, almost forgotten, after his throne had been usurped with impunity for the space of nearly thirty years.

The person to whom I allude is Edmund Mortimer.

U

EDMUND

EDMUND MORTIMER was the eldest son of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, by Eleanor Holland; Roger Mortimer was the eldest son of Philippa, the *daughter and heiress* of Lionel Duke of Clarence,* who was the *third* son of Edward III, and who did not long survive his father.† William of Hatfield, the *second* son of the same king, died young and without issue, and consequently at the decease of Richard II. (the only child of Edward the Black Prince) the right to the crown of Eng-

* "Lionell Plantaganet, otherwife called Lionell of Antwerp, the sonne of Edward III. married Elizabeth daughter and heir to William Bausyge Earle of Ulster, and after was in her right Earle of Ulster, and after King Edward III. in the 33d year of his reigne created him Duke of Clarence, and in the 34th year of his reigne he was made regent of Fraunce, he married to his second wife the daughter and heir of the Duke of Myllant, by whom he had no issue, and by his first wife he had issue Philip, his only daughter and heir married to Edmund Mortimer."

The Spelman MSS. in the possession of J. Patten, Esq. M. P.

† Rapin in his genealogical Table of the posterity of Edward III. fixes the death of Lionel in 1368, but it appears from Holinshed that this nobleman was present at his father's funeral, in 1377. He certainly died before 1386.

land

land clearly devolved to the family of the Mortimers.

During the reign of Richard the second this right was decidedly established ;* but as the father
of

* In the 9th of Richard II. Roger Mortimer (*the father of our Edmund*) was declared by the parliament to be the presumptive heir to the throne. Richard, who seems to have been much attached to him, promoted him to the honour of Governor of Ireland, in which station he fell, in opposing a rebellion in that country, in the year 1398.

Collin's Peerage, vol. 11. p. 94, and Rapin, vol. 1. p. 470.

This Roger Mortimer, or rather indeed his shade, is introduced into that very amusing poem the "Mirour for Magistrates," and is represented as relating several particulars respecting his family and his fall; the æra of his death is fixed however in that work at an earlier period than is specified above: the following is the most interesting and pleasing part of the narration of Mortimer.

To count my kin, Dame Philip was my mother,
Daughter and heir of doughty Lionell,

The third King Edward's sonne as stories tell.

My father hight Sir Edmund Mortimer,

True Earle of March, whence I was after Earle,

By just descent these two my parents were,

Of

of Edmund Mortimer did not survive that unfortunate

Of which the one of Knighthood bare the fearle,
 Of Womanhood the other was the pearle,
 Through their desert so call'd of every wight,
 Till death them took, and left me in their right.

While fortune unto me her grace did deigne,
 King Richard's grace, the second of that name,
 (Whose looser life did soon abridge his reigne,)
 Made me his mate in earnest and in game :
The Lords themselves so well allowed the fame,
That through my titles duely coming down,
I was made heire apparent to the Crowne.

But seldom joy continueth trouble void,
 In greatest charge cares greatest do ensue,
 The most possesse are ever most annoid,
 In largest seas fore tempests lightly brue,
 The freshest colours soonest fade the hue,
 In thickest place is made the deepest wound,
 True proof whereof myself too soon have found.

For whilst fair fortune lul'd me in her lap,
 And gave me gifts more than I did require,
 The subtil dame behind me set a trap,
 Whereby to dash and lay all in the mire :
 The Irish men against mee did conspire
 My lands of Ulster from mee to have reft,
 Which heritage my mother had mee left.

And

fortunate king, Edmund himself became, at the decease of Richard, the lawful heir to the throne.

The pretensions of the house of Mortimer are well illustrated by part of a scene in Shakspeare.*

YORK, SALISBURY, AND WARWICK.

YORK.—Then thus—

Edward the third, my Lords, had seven sons
The first Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Wales;
The second William of Hatfield; and the third
Lionel Duke of Clarence; next to whom
Was John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster:

And whiles I there to set all things in stay,
(Omit my toils and trouble thitherward)
Among mine owne with my retinue lay,
The wilder men whom I did not regard,
(And had therefore the reckles man's reward)
When least I thought set on me in such number,
That from my corps my life they rent asunder.

Mirour for Magistrates, (Edit. 1610.) p. 273.

* Second part of Henry VI. Act. II. Scene II. See too Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. III. p. 412 and 448.

The

The fifth was Edmund Langley, Duke of York ;
 The sixth was Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of
 Gloster ;

William of Windfor was the seventh and last.
 Edward, the Black Prince, died before his father,
 And left behind him Richard, his only son,
 Who after Edward the Third's death reign'd king ;
 Till Henry Bolinbroke, Duke of Lancaster,
 The eldest son and heir of John of Gaunt,
 Crown'd by the name of Henry the fourth,
 Seiz'd on the realm ; deposed the rightful king :
 Sent his poor queen to France, from whence she
 came,
 And him to Pomfret ; where, as both you know,
 Harmless Richard was murder'd traiterously.

WAR.—Father, the duke has told the truth,
 Thus got the house of Lancaster the throne.

YORK.—Which now they hold by force and not
 by right ;
 For Richard the first son's heir being dead,
 The issue of the next son should have reign'd.

SAL.

SAL.—But William of Hatfield died without
an heir.

YORK.—The third son, Duke of Clarence, (from
whose line

I claim the crown) had issue. Philippe a daughter,
Who married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.
Edmund had issue—Roger, Earl of March:
Roger had issue—Edmund, Anne, and Eleanor.

SAL.—This Edmund in the reign of Bolinbroke
As I have read, laid claim unto the crown;
And but for Owen Glendower had been king,
Who kept him in captivity till he dy'd.
But to the rest.

But the rest.] In the above speech of Salisbury Shakespeare has erred (as will be shewn in the sequel) by confounding the *uncle* of our Edmund Mortimer with Edmund Mortimer himself, and the Anne, who is mentioned in the next speech, was *not* the sister of this *uncle*, (whose name was also Edmund) but of Edmund, Earl of March, and son of Roger.

YORK.

YORK.—His eldest sister, Anne,
 My mother being heir unto the crown,
 Married Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who was son
 To Edmund Langley, Edmund the third's fifth son,
 By her I claim the kingdom ; she *then* was the heir
 To Roger, Earl of March ; who was the son
 Of Edmund Mortimer, who married Philippe
 Sole daughter unto Lionel, duke of Clarence.
 So if the issue of the elder son
 Succeed before the younger, I am king.

WAR.—What plain proceeding is more plain
 than this ?

Henry does claim the crown from John of Gaunt
 The fourth son : York claimeth it from the third.
 Till Lionel's issue fails, his should not reign :
 It fails not yet but flourishes in thee
 And in thy sons, fair slips of such a stock.

It will be here proper to observe, that some inaccuracy has arisen in the history of the Mortimer family, from confounding with Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and heir to the crown, *another Edmund Mortimer*, who was a second or younger son of Philippa,* and consequently the *uncle* of the former; and it is still difficult to ascertain with precision which of these two persons was the real actor in some of those transactions, in which both the one and the other are by different writers supposed to have been engaged.†

From a careful examination, however, of these transactions, I am very fully persuaded that Edmund Mortimer, the *uncle* of the Earl of March, (and *not*, as has been erroneously supposed, the Earl of March himself) was taken prisoner by

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. 1. p. 138.

† As by Shakspeare (in his Henry IV. and in the latter part of the scene above quoted), and also by Camden (Radnorshire) and Speed.

Glendower, in the year 1400,* that the same nobleman espoused, in 1402, the daughter of this celebrated Welch Chieftain,† that he soon after became a confederate with his father-in-law in the grand rebellion which was excited by Northumberland‡ and Percy, and that he survived but a very short time the extinction of that rebellion,§ which was

... * Holinshed, (vol. 111: p. 500, 591) and some other writers of note, inform us that the Mortimer who was taken by Glendower at this period was the *Earl of March*; but it appears from Dugdale (Baronage, p. 150 and 151), that *both* the uncle and the nephew were, at different periods, prisoners to the Welch Chieftain; and as *that* Mortimer who fell into his hands in 1400, *soon after* married his daughter and *died*, it is plain that he *could not be* the Earl of March, who (as will be seen in the sequel) was not more than eight years of age at this period, and who *undoubtedly lived more than twenty years after it*. I shall have occasion to speak again of the time in which the *younger* Mortimer appears to have been in the power of Glendower.

+ Stowe's Chronicle, p. 328. Holinshed, vol. 111: p. 521.

‡ This nobleman had married Elizabeth, the daughter of the elder Edmund Mortimer.

§ According to Speed he died even before the contest was terminated.

speedily

speedily quelled after the decisive victory of Henry in 1403.*

Having thus dismissed the concerns of the elder Mortimer, we shall be able to proceed more clearly in our account of the younger, who is the principal object of enquiry in this Essay.

Edmund Mortimer, then, the son of Roger, was born at New Forest, on the sixth of November, 1392.† At the death of Richard II. his indisputable right to the crown appears to have attracted some notice, but no successful appeal could be made to it against the power and ambition of Henry IV. and at the period in which that monarch was seated upon the throne, the Earl of March was prudently removed from a scene of bustle and danger to his domains at Wigmore.‡

* Rapin, vol. i. p. 494, 495.

† Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 151.

‡ Rapin, vol. i. p. 484.

It has been asserted by some, that Edmund Mortimer was personally engaged in the revolt of Northumberland, which has been noticed above; but of the truth of this assertion I can find no decided proofs; and although the confederates on that occasion certainly engaged to support his claims to a certain extent,* yet his youth must necessarily have excluded him from taking an active part in the rebellion, and the vindication of his pretensions were in all probability entirely entrusted to the greater experience and zeal of his uncle Edmund.†

But although the rebellion of Northumberland terminated very unfortunately to the cause of Mortimer, the claims of the family were soon after

* Speed's Chronicle, p. 735. Holinshed vol. 111. p. 521.

† "Yea this meek Mortimer (the younger Edmund) was content to wave the crown, so be it he might but enjoy his private patrimony." Fuller's Worthies, p. 56.

brought forward by Scroope;* but neither on this occasion again does Edmund himself appear to have been active, and the injudicious and hasty attempt of his friends was as hastily defeated.

While the uncle of the Earl of March was living, he attracted the notice of Henry much more strongly than the nephew; but soon after the decease of that nobleman, either the design of Scroope, or some imprudent conduct, with which we are unacquainted, of Edmund Mortimer himself, awakened the fears of the king, and he began to discover much anxiety to secure the person of a youth whose right to the throne of England was so clearly superior to his own: the wishes of Henry were soon gratified; and the Earl of March as well as his brother, were seized, and confined in Windsor Castle about the year 1406.†

After

* Rapin, vol 1. p. 496.

† "In the same year, (7th Henry IV.) the king so much confided in this Sir John Pelham, that till the meeting

After some attempts to escape from confinement, which were attended by no decisive success,

"meeting of the next Parliament, he committed to his keeping in the castle of Pevensey, Plantagenet Duke of York, who was accused of taking part of the castle of Windsor for the sons of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March." Collins' Peerage, vol. 11. p. 94; and see too Stowe, p. 332.

But though these unfortunate noblemen were thus liberated, they very soon after fell again into the hands of Henry, for (as Collins continues) "Two years after this (11th Henry IV.) the king commits to Sir John Pelham the keeping of the Earl of March and his brother, sons of Roger Earl of March, who had been declared heir apparent to the throne."

Vol. 11. p. 95.

It appears that when the Duke of York succeeded (as has just been noticed) in procuring the escape of Edmund Mortimer and his brother from Windsor-castle, he delivered them for protection into the hands of Owen Glendower; (Collins as above); this circumstance has probably given rise to the assertion mentioned p. 158, that the Earl of March himself, as well as his uncle Edmund, was taken prisoner by the Welsh Chieftain.

The brother of Edmund Mortimer who was confined with him at Windsor, and of whom I find no account previous to this time, is said by Rapin (probably from Dugdale) to have been named Roger; but I am very strongly induced to believe that he was the John Mortimer of whom I shall shortly have occasion to speak more fully.

Edmund

Edmund at length eluded the vigilance of Henry, for at the accession of Henry V. we are informed that the Earl of March *voluntarily surrendered himself* to that Prince,* and experienced from him a liberality of treatment which might well have been expected.

During the reign of that amiable and generous monarch, Edmund Mortimer was not only allowed the full enjoyment of his liberty and possessions,† but he was permitted to head a party of the English troops in France, and was also honoured by the king with the important station of Lieutenant of Normandy.‡ In return for the kindness which was shewn to him, he uniformly displayed the greatest zeal and fidelity in the service of Henry; he re-joined to him, just before his departure from

* "The Earl of March himself came and put himself into his (Henry's) hands, to give him a convincing proof of his sincere intention to leave him in peaceable possession of the crown." Rapin, vol. 1. p. 505.

† Hardyng's Chronicle, p. 229.

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. 1. p. 151.

Southampton, the traiterous designs of the Earl of Cambridge,* and in the list of illustrious men

* The particulars of this affair are thus recorded by Stowe: (p. 346) "The chiefeſt of them (the conspirators) was Henry Scroope Lord Treasurer, the ſecond Richard Earle of Cambridge, and Sir Thomas Gray, a knight of the North; theſe had made Edmond Earle of March to ſwear upon a booke, not to diſcloſe their counſell, and then told him that they thought to ſlay the King, and to make the ſaid Edmond King; the which if he refuſed to take upon him they would ſlay him: whereupon the Earle prayed them to give him one hour's ſpace to take adviſement what was beſt to doe; which being granted, the Earle went ſecretly and told the King thereof, who cauſed them forthwith to be apprehended."

Holinſhed (vol. 111. p. 549) agrees with Stowe in ſtating the object of the Earl of Cambridge, in this conſpiracy to have been the exaltation of the Earl of March to the Crown; "after the death of which Earle," ſays he, "for diverſe ſecret impediments not able to have iſſue, the Earle of Cambridge was ſure that the crowne ſhould come to him by his wife, and to his children of her begotten."

—Mortimer appears to have very wiſely ſuſpected that the bloody means which the Earl of Cambridge was ſo willing to have employed in promoting his ambitious views on this occaſion, would in all probability have been as readily adopted by that nobleman in removing any other impediment which might have ſtood between him and the throne.

who

who attended the funeral of that celebrated monarch, we find the name of Edmund Mortimer.*

It

* I trust I shall be excused for copying the interesting account of this funeral, given by Holinshed (vol. 111. p. 584.).

“ His bodie imbalmed and closed in lead, was laid in a chariot roiall, richlie apparalled with cloth of gold, upon his coffin was laid a representation of his person, adorned with robes, diadem, scepter, and ball, like a king; the which chariot, six horses drew richlie trapped, with several appointments; the first with the armes of St. George, the second with the armes of Normandie, the third of king Arthur, the fourth of St. Edward, the fifth of France, and the sixth with the armes of England and France. On this same chariot gave attendance, James, king of Scots, the principal mourner, king Henrie’s uncle, Thomas Duke of Excester, Richard Earle of Warwicke, *the Earle of March Edmund*, the Earle of Stafford Humfrie, the Earle of Mortaigne Edmund Beaufort, the Lord Fitz Hugh Henrie, the Lord Hungerford Walter, Sir Robert Robfert Lord Bouchier, Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope, and the Lord Crumwell, were the other mourners. The Lord Lovell, the Lord Audcleie, the Lord Morleie, the Lord Sowch bare the baners of Saints and Aumuries, as they then were called; the Baron of Dudleie bare the standard, and the Earle of Longuste the baner. The hachments were carried onelie by Capteins to the number of twelve, and round about the chariot rode five hundred men at arms, all in blacke armour, their horses barbed blacke, and they
with

It was probably at this period of his life that he espoused Anne, the daughter of the Earl of Stafford.*

At the accession of Henry VI. the Earl of March appears to have made no efforts to assert his rights, and from this circumstance, as well as from the remarkable mildness of the new monarch, we may safely infer that Henry continued to grant to him the same indulgence as he had formerly received.†

I am

with the but end of their speares upwards. Beside these on every side of the chariot went three hundred persons, holding long torches, lords bearing banners, banerols, and penons."

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 151.

† Some vague and discordant accounts indeed are preserved by Fuller, Weever, and Hall, of Mortimer's being confined for 20 years in the Castle of Trim; but these reports are entirely unsupported by any historic evidence, or rather indeed are in direct opposition to it. We have already seen that Mortimer had recovered his liberty at the death of Henry IV. and during the reign of that king, the place of his confinement had undoubtedly been Windfor Castle; now if we even suppose that he was sent to the Castle of Trim at the accession of Henry VI. (of which however I cannot discover the slightest proof) it was impossible

I am aware that a celebrated scene in Shakspeare* may be urged against this conclusion, but Shakspeare, though certainly well acquainted even with many of the minutiae of English history, can hardly be deemed a decisive evidence in a case of this kind,† and it appears by no means improbable that in order to increase the interest of his piece, he

possible that he should have been twenty years in confinement there, as he lived only *two* years after that period. Whoever quotes as his authority on this occasion Camden's Radnorshire, but Camden says not a word of Mortimer's confinement; farther proofs of the improbability of the above reports will appear in the sequel.

* The scene in the first part of Henry VI. in which Edmund Mortimer, broken down with age, and a prisoner in the tower, yields his pretensions to the crown to his nephew Richard Plantagenet.

† One error of our great Bard, with respect to the Mortimer family, has been noticed above, and the scene of which I am now speaking is a decided proof of that error; Shakspeare makes Salisbury assert (as may be seen a few pages back) that the Edmund Mortimer who was heir to the crown, died when a captive with Owen Glendower, and now he introduces the *same heir to the crown* as dying in the reign of Henry VI. Shakspeare too appears, in common with some other writers, to have adopted a very erroneous opinion of the extreme old age of Edmund Mortimer, at the period of his decease.

has knowingly sacrificed historic truth in some degree, and has moved us by the sufferings of *John*, and not by those of Edmund Mortimer.

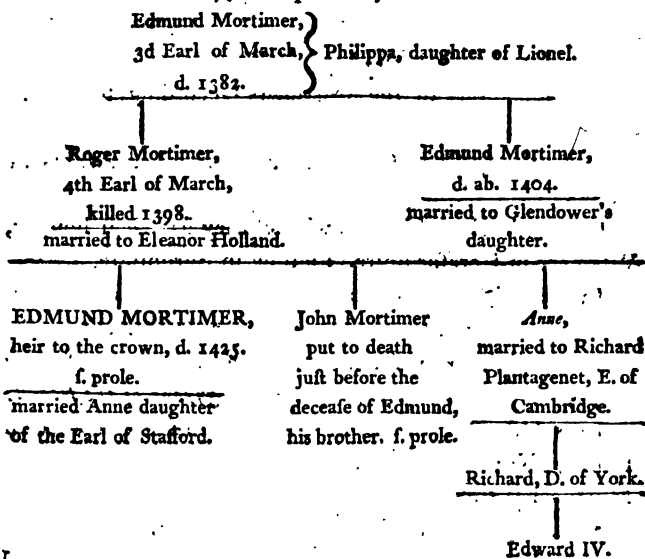
Sir John Mortimer was undoubtedly confined in the Tower in the second year of the reign of Henry VI. he was a man of a violent and ambitious temper, and was probably detained in prison, and certainly condemned to death, on account of his restlessness and intrigues: among other accusations which were adduced against him, he was charged with saying "that hee would goe into Wales unto the Earle of the Marches, and there hee would raise forty thousand men, and with that power hee would enter the land, and that the Earle of March was but a daw, save that hee was the greatest, noblest, and worthiest of blood, and should be king by right of inheritance, and that hee himself was next rightfull beire to the said crowne* after the said Earle

* This is a convincing proof of his being the brother of Edmund Mortimer, who was childless. Rapin indeed (as I before observed) has informed us that the name of the brother

Earle of March, wherefore if the said Earle
would

brother (and formerly fellow prisoner) of Edmund was Roger, but he afterwards (vol. 1. p. 542) seems to retract this opinion. Tindal contends that the Sir John Mortimer above-mentioned was the *uncle* of Edmund, but this supposition is countenanced by no authority, and no uncle of Edmund's could possibly have those pretensions which were advanced by Sir John Mortimer.

If any confusion should still remain (though I trust it will not) respecting the persons engaged in the transactions above narrated, the following genealogical sketch of part of the Mortimer family (corrected by the suppositions advanced in this Essay) will probably remove it.



The

would not take upon him the crown and rule of the land, hee said that hee else would.”*

From these expressions there is every reason to infer that Edmund Mortimer continued to enjoy his rank, his property, and his liberty at this period.

These enjoyments however speedily ceased; from some cause, which is not well understood, he was

The Mortimers descended from Gonora, wife of Richard I. Duke of Normandy, (in 942); the titles borne by the family were first, Lord of Wigmore, and afterwards Earl of March and Ulster, and Lord of Clare.

The possessions of the Mortimers (according to Fuller) were,

In England, Clare-Castle, with many other manors in Suffolk.

In the Marches of Wales, whence they had their honour, Wigmore in Herefordshire, Ludlow in Shropshire.

In Ireland, Trim, Conaught, with large lands in Ulster:

Their arms, which are somewhat remarkable, are

Barry of six or and azure, an inescutcheon argent, on a chief of the first three pallets between two gyrons of the second.

In a MS. of considerable antiquity in the Corporation Library, Norwich, the inescutcheon in the arms of Roger Mortimer is *ermine*,

* Stowe, p. 365. See too Speed, p. 814.

conveyed

conveyed into Ireland, but with an honourable re-
 tinue, in the year 1424,* and on the nineteenth of
 January, 1425, he died in the Castle of Trim, in
 that kingdom :† his body was removed for burial
 to the Collegiate Church of Stoke Clare,‡ in Suff-
 folk, which had been founded by his ancestors ;
 as he left no children, and as his brother John had
 been previously cut off, his rights and estates de-
 scended to the son of his sister Anne, Richard
 Plantagenet.

We possess no information sufficient to justify any
 endeavour to delineate the character of Edmund
 Mortimer ; but from his never having himself at-
 tempted, except *possibly* in the revolt of Northum-

* Stowe, p. 366. Dugdale says, he was made Lieutenant
 of Ireland, 1 Hen. 6, but this appointment is not noticed
 by the historians.

† Dugdale's Baronage, p. 151. Weever (Funeral Mo-
 numents, p. 742.) and Baker (Chronicle, p. 195.) fix his
 death in 1424, and Fuller, by some strange mistake, in 1454.
 Anne, the widow of Mortimer, survived him eight years,
 and married John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon.

‡ Weever, as above.

berland, to vindicate his claims by the sword, and from the great lenity which he experienced, both from the fifth and sixth Henry, we may safely infer, that whatever may have been the other qualities which he possessed, his temper was unambitious, conciliating, and amiable.

F I N I S.

Corrigenda and Addenda.

- P** AGE 19, line 9.—For “was only” read “alone was.”
- P. 25, note.—After “Constantini” insert “Lib. 11, Cap. VIII.”
- P. 30, l. 8.—For “acquired” read “amassed.”
- P. 47, l. 11.—For “Torfæus” read “Torfæus.”
- P. 60, l. 4.—For “certainly” read “doubtless.”
- P. 61, l. 9.—After “fully,” dele the comma.
- P. 63, l. 8.—For “building” read “buildings” and dele “ings” in next line.

P. 69, l. 6.—Insert as a note to the word “stone.”

In fixing the introduction of the roof of stone at this era, I may possibly be deemed in some degree inaccurate. The fact is, that roofs or rather *ceilings* of stone, are to be found even in some few Saxon remains (as in the Crypts of York Minster, and of some other Cathedrals), and that they occur frequently in gates, and such other structures of early Norman erection, as have incumbent rooms, &c., to support; but though the Normans thus appear to have introduced *more generally* the mode of building of which I am speaking, yet it is certain that the inner roof of stone was added to some of our Cathedrals at a *much later* period than that specified above.

P. 81 and 83.—For “Mr.” read “Dr.” Whitaker.

P. 84, l. last.—For “Charles I.” read “Charles II.”

P. 126, Notes.—After “Rapin, vol. 1, p. 168,” insert, Holinshed (vol. 111, p. 9.) thus speaks of him; “a comelie gentleman and a valiant, in whome also the whole hope of the nation was reposed.”

of the English nation reposed, as appeareth by his accustomed by-word, *Edgar Atheling Englands Dearling.*"

P. 131, l. 22.—Insert after "beside." What these livings or possessions may have been, we are now unable to determine with precision; in *Domesday-book*, p. 142, an account may be seen of the lands which were held by Edgar in *Edwinesfreve Hundred, Hertfordshire*; but his name does not occur in any other part of the work. It appears that he also possessed some lands or lordships in Normandy.

P. 137, l. 14.—Insert, as a note, to "years."

He is said by some writers, as Malmesbury and Matthew Paris, to have again headed an unsuccessful revolt which was excited, in 1072, by Edwin and Morcar, in the Isle of Ely; but Ingulph and others state that the commander on this occasion was *Hereward*, a knight of great prowess, and nephew to the Abbot of Peterborough. The *Saxon Chronicle* also (p. 181.) notices this rebellion and the leaders of it, amongst whom the name of Edgar does not occur; it moreover informs us that *all those leaders, except Hereward alone, were taken prisoners by William himself in person*, a circumstance which could not possibly have happened to Edgar Atheling, and have been past over in silence by all the historians of the time.

P. 137, l. 21.—For "solely" read "chiefly."

P. 140, l. last.—For "vol. 1." read "vol. 11."

P. 151, l. 9.—For "honour" read "honourable station."

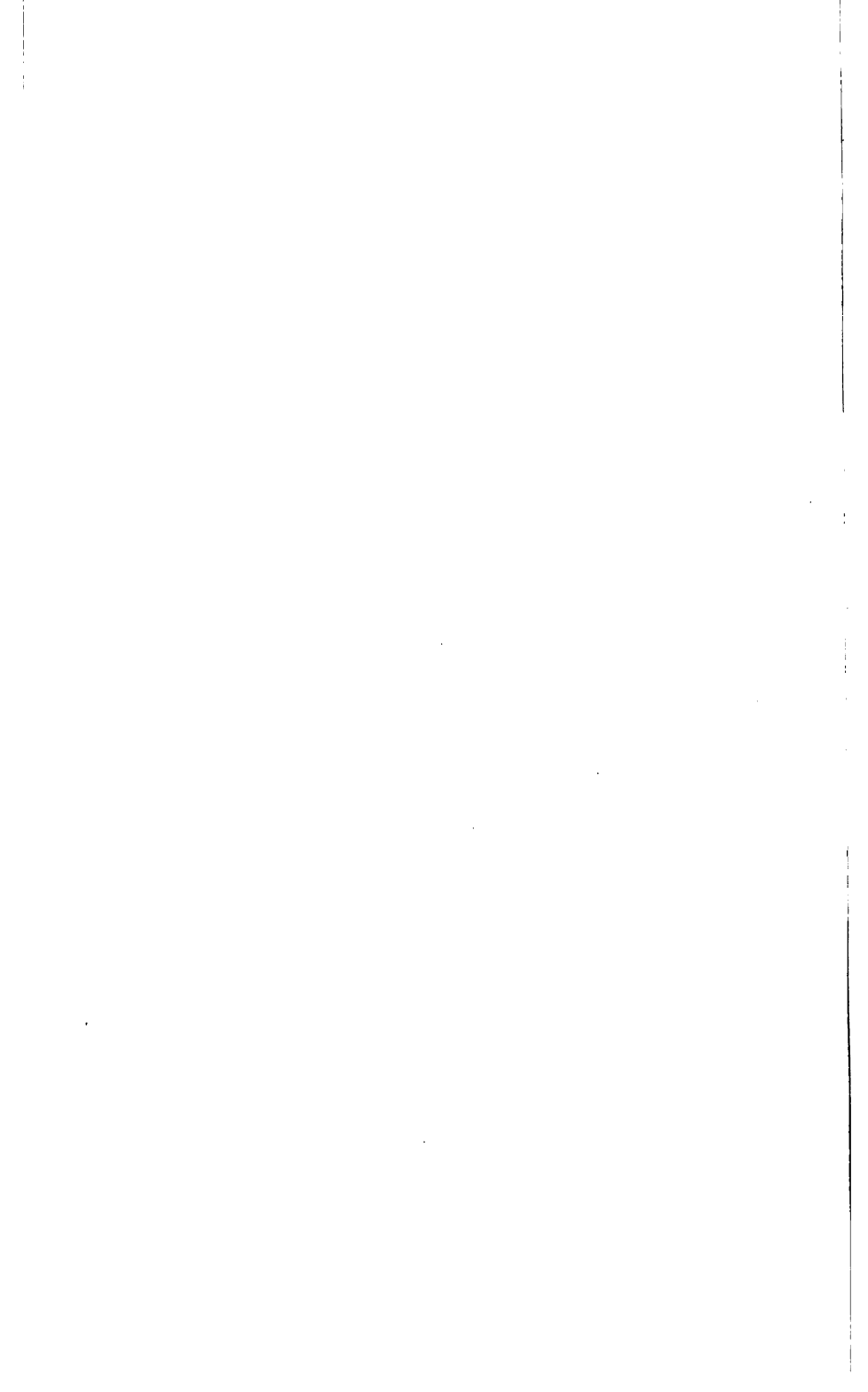
P. 160, l. last.—After "page 56" insert (*Suffolk*).

P. 170, l. 8.—For "Gonora" read "the niece of Gonora."

P. 170, l. 24.—Insert after "ermine."

A full account of the lands and lordships of which Edmund Mortimer was seized at the time of his death, may be found in *Dugdale's Baronage*, p. 151.

The 2d vol. of *Holinshed* which is referred to in this work is dated 1577, the 3d vol. 1586.



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